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The 150th birth anniversary of the great Orientalist Max Mueller was celebrated in our leading cities in December last. Max Mueller started as a student of comparative philology. Then, having spent sometime in comparative philology, he parented comparative religion. His edition of the *Rgveda* (6 volumes) printed between 1858-74 was the first printed edition of the great book. Max Mueller's greatest claim to fame rests on his editorship of the series entitled *The Sacred Books of the East* printed after 1875.

In this series edited by Max Mueller, Hermann Jacobi contributed two volumes on the Jaina *Āgamas* comprising of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, the *Kalpa Sūtra*, the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* and the *Sūtra Kṛtāṅga*. This drew the attention of the Western World to Jainology. As path-breaker, Max Mueller is, therefore, deserving of our admiration, gratitude and homage. This number of our Journal is dedicated to his sacred memory.

The current number of the Journal contains reprints from the writings of Indologists like Buchanan, Mackenzie, Buehler, Jacobi and others, who from the 18th century onwards helped in the collection and propagation of Jaina learning. They were pioneers in this field and as such, they had their difficulties. Some of their theses have been exploded while some others thoroughly revised at this distance of time and with growing knowledge and interest in Jainology. But as pioneers they still shine and will continue to shine. In this the 2500th anniversary year of liberation of Saramana Bhagawan Mahavira, we remember the entire galaxy with due reverence.



Friedrich Max Mueller
(1823-1900)

"If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India. . . ."

Mueller (Friedrich) Max (1823-1900)—Anglo-German Orientalist and Comparative Philologist, whose works stimulated widespread interest in the study of linguistics, mythology and religion, was born at Dessau on December 6, 1823. He was the son of Wilhelm Mueller (1794-1827), the German poet celebrated for his phil-Hellenic lyrics, who was ducal librarian at Dessau. Felix Menderssohn who was Mueller's godfather dissuaded him from indulging his natural bent towards the study of music. Hermann Brockhans of the University of Leipzig where Mueller matriculated in 1841 induced him to take up Sanskrit ; Franz Bopp at Berlin (1844) transformed the Sanskrit student into a Comparative Philologist. Friedrich Schelling at the same university inspired him with a love for metaphysical speculation, though he failed to attract him to his own philosophy. Eugene Burnouf, at Paris in the following year, by teaching him Zend, started him on the study of comparative religion and impelled him to edit *Rgveda*. When in 1846 Mueller came to England upon this errand, Baron von Bunsen, in conjunction with H. H. Wilson, prevailed upon the East India Company to undertake the cost of publication. Bunsen gave him introductions to Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort and to Oxford University. In 1848, the printing of his *Rgveda* at the university press obliged him to settle at Oxford. Mueller was appointed deputy Taylorian Professor of Modern Languages in 1850 and became an honorary fellow of Christ Church and a fellow of All Souls. During this period, he published the essays collected as *Chips from a German Workshop* and his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1859).

When at last the chair of Sanskrit fell vacant in 1860, Mueller failed to secure election against Monier Williams. His opponents objected partly to his foreign origin and partly to his free and unorthodox religious views. It was the one great disappointment in his life and made a lasting impression upon him. Sanskrit philology received little more from him, except in connection with his later undertaking of *The Sacred Books of the East*, though he appealed to Sanskrit evidence in his *Science of Languages*, two courses of lectures delivered at the Royal Institution in 1861 and 1863. Mueller sought to popularise the

study of Indo-European comparative philology, but he was on less sure ground in another department—the problem of its origin. His essays on mythology are among the most important of his writings, but their value is impaired by too uncompromising an adherence to the selective generalisation of the solar myth.

Mueller's study of mythology led him to the comparative study of religions. His *Introduction to the Science of Religion* (1873 ; the same year in which he lectured on the subject in Westminster Abbey) was followed by the four volumes of Gifford lectures delivered between 1888-92 ; but the most tangible result was the publication under his editorship, from 1875 onwards, of *The Sacred Books of the East* in 51 volumes, including indexes, all but three of which appeared under his superintendence during his lifetime. Mueller also wrote on Indian Philosophy in his later years, and he urged the search for manuscripts and inscriptions which resulted in discoveries of early Buddhist scriptures, in their Indian form, made in Japan. He was on friendly terms with Japanese scholars, and after his death, his library was purchased by the University of Tokyo.

In 1868, Mueller was elected to a newly established chair of comparative philology but he ceased to lecture in 1875 when he entered upon the editorship of *The Sacred Books of the East*. He was a curator of the Bodleian library and a delegate of the university Press. His hospitality was ample, especially to visitors from India. The distinctions conferred on him by foreign governments and learned societies were many. He became a naturalised Englishman, was in high favour at the court and was sworn on the Privy Council. Died at Oxford on October 28, 1900.

Of Jaina Sect

FRANCIS BUCHANAN

The Jain seem long to have been divided into two sects, the Swetambar and Digambar ; but of late, as among the orthodox, schisms have arisen, and sundry people have pretended to find new ways to heaven by what are called the Terepanthi and Bispanthi, that is, the 13 and 20 roads ; while others called Duriyas have separated still farther from former opinions. The Digambars are also called Bhattaraks. Of these there are scarcely any in this district ; nor were there any among the pilgrims with whom I conversed. I believe, however, that in the south the Digambars are the most prevalent. The Digambars, or at least their priests, ought to go naked ; but, if those I saw in the south belonged to this sect, as I believe was the case, they have given up this absurdity ; and even Pandita Acharya, who had obtained *nirham*, or divinity, was as decently clothed as an ordinary man. What convinces me that it was the Digambar with whom I met in the south is, that this sect has 24 books, called *Purans*, as mentioned in my account of Mysore. The names of these books are : *Adipuran* or *Chakradhar Puran*, *Ajil Puran*, *Sambhav Puran*, *Abhinandan Puran*, *Saumati Puran*, *Padmaprabha Puran*, *Sauparsa Puran*, *Chandraprabha Puran*, *Saubidhinathiya Puran*, *Saitalnathiya Puran*, *Sriyangsanathiya Puran*, *Vasupujya Puran*, *Bimalanathiya Puran*, *Anantanathiya Puran*, *Dharmanathiya Puran*, *Santinathiya Puran*, *Kunthunathiya Puran*, *Armallanathiya Puran*, *Munisubratanathiya Puran*, *Naminathiya Puran*, *Nemnathiya Puran*, *Parsanathiya Puran*, *Mahavira Puran*, and *Uttara Puran*. These books, so far as I can learn, give an account of the 24 Tirthangkars, or lawgivers of the sect ; the first 23 giving each an account of one such person, while the *Uttara Puran* gives an account of the whole. The sect of Digambar in performing its ceremonies is said to be guided by books called *Siddhanta*, which form its code (*Agam*). The books are : *Trailokyasar*, *Gomatsar*, *Pungjaraj*, *Trailokyadipak Kshepanasar*, *Siddhantasar*, *Tribhangisar* and *Shatpawar*.

Many of these *Purans* and *Siddhantas* are attributed to Gautama or other chief rulers (Ganadhar) of the sect who are supposed to relate what was said by the Tirthangkars, or law givers.

Besides these books the Digambars have other books, called *Charitras*, composed by inferior personages. These are *Yasodhar Charitra, Sripal Charitra, Hanumant Charitra, Sita Charitra, Bhadrabahu Charitra, Jambuswami Charitra,* and *Pradyumna Charitra.* The Swetambar have always held the Gymnosophists in the contempt due to their extravagance. So far as is here known, they are divided into 84 Gachhas, each of which is under the authority, in spirituals, of a priest called Sripujya ; but every person seems to be at liberty to join whatever Gachha he chooses. The Sripujya is the Guru or spiritual guide of the Gachha, and as such, as usual among Hindus of all sects, is worshipped by his followers ; but whether or not he is exactly of the same rank with Pandita Acharya, whom I have mentioned in my account of Mysore, I cannot ascertain. The Sripujya is always by birth a Srawak, and renounces all worldly pleasures. He educates a number of pupils in the same strict manner, and is succeeded by one of these, when he is translated to heaven. None of the Sripujyas would appear to reside farther east than Gwalyor. They seem to have each an abode, which may be considered as their head quarters ; but they pass a great part of their time in visiting their own flocks. Although it is for these alone that they perform the offices of delivering secret instruction (*upades*), of distributing consecrated ashes, and of reading the book called *Pritikrama* ; yet, wherever they go, they are received by the whole sect with the utmost respect, and in all the principal places which they freqent, houses called Pausal have been built for their accomodation. The Sripujyas and their immediate pupils, I understand, in general possess some learning. The people of each Gaccha, are so scattered, that the Sripujyas have found it necessary to appoint assistants, who may act as deputies to perform the above-mentioned ceremonies, and to manage the temporal concerns of the Sripujya. These assistants are the only persons, who in these districts are called Yatis, although it would appear from Colonel Mackenzie's account, that in the south the term is considered applicable to the whole priesthood. The Yatis are of the order of Mahabrata, described in the *Asiatic Researches*, by Colonel Mackenzie, and ought to observe with utmost strictness the five great virtues of the Jaina law. 1st. *Pranathipat*, respect for the life of all creatures. 2nd. *Mrishabad*, truth. 3rd. *Adutadhan*, honesty. 4th. *Maithan*, Chastity. 5th. *Poriga*, poverty ; while they have no expectation of being elevated to the high dignity of Sripujya. On this account it seems to be difficult to find persons willing to fill the office, so that children are usually purchased for the purpose, and among these the Srawaks are willing to take the children of Brahmans. The two Yatis at Behar had originally been of this order ; and being still suspected of a hankering after the flesh and were far from respected

although one of them, as I have said, was a man of very considerable learning and good manners, qualifications which, I am told are very uncommon in this order of priesthood. These Yatis are the mere agents of the Sripujyas, and according to their industry in performing their duty, and especially in remitting contributions to the sage on whom they depend, are entrusted with the care of a larger or smaller portion of his flock being removable at his pleasure from any place to another. The Yatis usually reside at one of the places (Pausal) built for their masters' accomodation, and each has usually a pupil whom he educates to be his successor. If he dies without having educated a successor, the Sripujya is his heir, and sends a new Yati to take charge of the office. In general the Yatis can read Sangskrita, but few of them understand much of that language.

Some holy men, called Sanbegis, make occasional visits to these districts. They accept of nothing but what is absolutely necessary for each day's daily subsistence, and are supposed literally to take no care for tomorrow. The Srawaks of the Swetarbar sect would appear to have no proper Purohits, or priests for conducting their ceremonies; each man worships the gods for himself, and makes his offering ; nor on such occasions is any priest necessary to read prayers. Among them, however, has arisen an order of Brahmans, called Bhajaks (eating) or Pushkar (flower priests), who attend at their temples, and take the offerings, and on that account are usually called their Purohits, although they are never employed to read prayers. The account usually given is, that between two and three centuries ago, the sect having undergone persecution, these Brahmans took arms in their defence, and have since been allowed to have charge of the temples, to receive their offerings, and to supply those who came to worship with turmeric, red lead, and some other articles usually employed. All the Bhajaks that I have seen adhered to the orthodox faith. The same may be said of the garland makers (Mali), of whom one is usually attached to each temple, in order to keep it clean, and supply votaries with flowers. The Srawaks of the Swetambar sect seem indeed to have little occasion for Purohits, as of what are called the ten actions, (*dasakarma*) required by the orthodox, marriage alone is here accompanied by any religious ceremony, and any Brahman is employed by the Srawaks to read the ceremony usual on such occasions. The reason of this seems to be, that the ceremony being universal among their neighbours, the Srawaks are afraid, least without it the contract might not be considered valid. In the south it would appear from Major Mackenzie's account, that the Jain attend to the performance of all these ten religious actions, and also to the ceremony of initiation (*upanayana*), which the Srawaks

here entirely neglect. All the Srawaks here ought to be Anabratas, which order requires their observing the five great virtues lately mentioned, as far as consistant with the existence of society ; for what I have called chastity, is a total abstinence, and poverty implies the total neglect of worldly concerns ; and these rules observed with rigour, it is evident, are incompatible with the existence of society. The Srawaks worship their 24 great teachers, usually here called Avatars, although Tirthangkar seems to be the most proper name ; and also some of their most celebrated disciples, among whom 11 attendants on Mahavira are the most conspicuous ; but of these Gautama is by far the most eminent and seems to be as remarkable here as Gometrai is in the south. Mr. Colebrooke in treatise on the Jain, published in the *Asiatic Researches* says, that this person is only called Gautama on account of his being descended from that person, and such may be the case, but the Yati at Behar, and Govinda of Patna assured me, that they consider the disciple of Mahavira as the son of Mayadevi, and as the author of the Indian Metaphysics. In their temples they have images of all these persons which they worship ; but their devotions are more usually addressed to what are called the representations of their feet. The places where all these personages were begotten (*garbha*) where they were born (*janma*), where they resigned worldly pleasures (*diksha*), where they began to meditate (*gyangr*), and where they departed from this world (*nirvana*) are considered holy, and are frequented by pilgrims, and many such have been mentioned in topography. All the 24 Tirthangkars are said to have been sons of kings, except Nemnath, and he was of the royal family of the Moon, being descended from Jadu, the ancestor of Krishna. Vasupujya another of these Tirthangkars, died at Champanagar in the reign of Raja Dadhibahan, who lived after Karna. These circumstances connected with the reforms of the Pauranik chronology given by Major Wilford and Mr. Bentley, will serve in some measure to show, what reductions will be necessary on the extravagance of Jain chronology. The Yati of Behar says, that the best account of their Avatars and kings is to be found in a book called *Bhagawat Sutra* consisting of 45,000 couplets (*sloka*), and that the best account of their places of pilgrimage is called the *Tara Tambul*. Much historical matter is said also to be contained in their *Purans* totally different from the books of the orthodox called by these names, although both have probably been derived from some common original, now lost. I am assured by Govinda, that the Srawaks here frequently study the same *Purans* with the orthodox Hindus, viz., *Ambhoruha, Vishnu, Bhagawanta, Narada, Markandeya, Agnidaivata, Bhavishya, Brahmabaibarta, Lingga, Varah, Skandha, Bamana, Matsya, Kurma, Garura, Brahma*, and *Itihasa*. The Swetambar also acknowledge the laws

(*smriti*) of the 20 Munis of the orthodox; who have already been mentioned, and place these sages in the same succession. The Swetambar have no less than 45, or as some allege 34 *Siddhantas*, or *Agamas* for the direction of their worship, but they seem to contain much extraneous matter. Among these are the *Thananggi Sutra*, the *Gyangnti Sutra*, the *Sugoranggi Sutra*, the *Upasakadesa*, the *Mahapandanna*, the *Nandi Sutra*, the *Pandanna*, the *Rayapseni*, the *Jivabhigam*, the *Jambudwippannatti*, the *Surapannatti*, the *Chandrasagarpannatti*, the *Kalpa Sutra*, the *Katantrabibhrama Sutra*, the *Shasthi Sutra*, and the *Sangrahani Sutra*.

The temples of the Srawaks are here called Deohara. In many of them Bhairav is an object of worship. The Srawaks look on him as a minister of the gods, and he is represented by a mass of clay usually placed under a shed. The Srawaks here worship no less than 48 female deities, among whom are Padmawati, Chakreswari, Chandrakantha, Srimaline, &c., but I have learned nothing of their history, nor did I see any of their images. The Srawaks also worship Kshetrapal, the god of cities like the Gram-devata of the vulgar. In this district the Srawak do not usually worship any of the gods (*devatas*) adored by ordinary Hindus, such as Rama, Krishna, Siva, Kali, &c., but when afraid of any great impending evil, and when they think, that they have failed in procuring relief from their own gods, they sometimes, just like the Moslems, have recource to whatever idols may be fashionable, and employ a Brahman to perform the ceremonies. They admit the sun and heavenly bodies to be deities but do not consider them proper objects of worship. The Srawaks do not themselves perform *hom*, that is they do not make burnt offerings, and they abhor animal sacrifices ; and put themselves to the most extreme inconvenience in order to avoid killing, by any accident, even the most minute reptile ; but when afraid of any misfortune, they employ a Brahman to make the offering called *hom*. This seems, however, to be a superstition crept in among them from their neighbours, just like the worship of the gods of the orthodox Hindus. Besides the Digambars and Swetambars, as already mentioned, three sects, called Terepanthi, Bispanthi, and Duriyas seem to have lately arisen among the Jain, a proof, that they are now freed from the terrors of persecution. The Terepanthis and Bispanthis are so few in number, that I have not been able to learn the differences of opinion, on account of which they have separated from each other ; but both agree in rejecting the advice of the sages (Gurus), who are spiritual guides for the two old sects of the Jain ; nor have they adopted any other persons to perform this important office. This is a heresy so damnable, that they are beheld with the abhorrence due to the heterodox (Nastik), while the Swetambar in the west of India, and even in

Patna, from their weight in the state, are at present admitted by the Brahmans to be orthodox (*Astik*). These two hetrodox sects worship the 24 Avatars, and perform other religious rites as usual, practices which are entirely condemned by the people called Duriyas, all of whom are said to consider themselves as having obtained divinity, and therefore as exempted from the worship of any god. This extravagance, however, has not been accompanied by the system of rejecting the advice of sages (Gurus), and therefore, although considered as heterodox (*Nastik*), they are thought less dangerous than the other two schisms, especially as their sages are ascetics of the most extravagant mortification, who wander about thoughtless of all worldly concerns, and covered with rags and nastiness. These fanatics have not yet penetrated so far towards the east, and the account above given is taken entirely from report.

from the Survey of the District of Patna and Gaya in 1811-12, Vol. II pages 392-399.

Sect Of Jina

MAJOR COLIN MACKENZIE

*Read at a public meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Feb. 3, 1827**

The Jainas or Arhats, followers of Jina or Arhat (terms of like import) are also denominated Vivasanas, Muktavasanas, Muktambaras or Digambaras, with reference to the nakedness of the rigid order of ascetics in this sect, who go 'bare of clothing', 'disrobed' or 'clad by the regions of space'. The less strict order of 'Svetambaras'[1], 'clad in white', is of more modern date and of inferior note. Among nick-names by which they are known, that of Luncitakesa occurs. It alludes to the practice of abruptly eradicating hair of the head or body by way of mortification. Parsvanatha is described as tearing five handful of hair from his head in becoming a devotee.[2]

According to Digambaras, the universe consists of two classes, 'animate' and 'inanimate' (*jīva* and *ajīva*), without a creator or ruling providence (*Iśvara*).[3] They assign for the cause (*kāraṇa*) of the world, atoms, which they do not, as the Vaisesikas, distinguish into so many sorts as there are elements, but consider these, viz., earth, water, fire and air four elements by them admitted, as modified compounds of homogeneous atoms.

These gymnosophists distinguish, as already intimated, two chief categories : first, *jīva*, intelligent and sentient soul (*caitanātma* or *bodhāt-*

* In his preliminary remark the Author says : "The Jainas and Bauddhas I consider to have been originally Hindus. ...The *Uttar Mimansa* devotes sections to the refutations of the Bauddhas and one to that of the Jainas. .. It is from these and similar controversial disquisitions, more than from direct sources, that I derive the information, upon which the following account of the philosophy of Jainas, is grounded. A good collection of original works by writers of their own persuation, whether in Sanskrit or in Prakrit or Pali, the languages of the Jainas and that of the Bauddhas, is not at hand to be consulted. But although the information be furnished by their adverseries and even inveterate enemies, it appears, so far as I have any opportunity of comparing it with their own representations essentially correct."

1 *Transact. of the Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. 1, p.416.
2 *Ibid.*, p.433.
3 Ramānuja on *Brahma Sutra*.

mā) endowed with body and consequently composed of parts, eternal ; second, *ajīva*, all that is not living soul, that is, the whole of inanimate (*jaḍa*) and unsentient substance. The one is the object of fruition, being that which is to be enjoyed (*bhoga*) by the soul ; the other is the enjoyer (*bhoktā*) or agent in fruition ; soul itself.

The second comprehensive predicament admits a six-fold subdivision ; the entire number of categories (*padārtha*) as distinguished with reference to the ultimate great object of the souls' deliverance, is consequently seven.[4]

I. *Jīva* or Soul, as before-mentioned, comprising 3 descriptions : 1st, *nityasiddha*, ever-perfect, or *yogasiddha*, perfect by profound abstraction ; for instance, Arhats or Jinas, the deified saints of the sect. 2nd, *mukta* or *muktātmā*, a soul which is free or liberated ; its deliverance having been accomplished through the strict observance of the precepts of the Jinas. 3rd, *baddha* or *baddhātmā*, a soul which is bound, being in any stage antecedent to deliverance, remaining yet fettered by deeds or works (*karma*).

II. *Ajīva* taken in a restricted sense. It comprehends the four elements, earth, water, fire, and air ; and all which is fixed (*sthāvara*) as mountains, or movable (*jaṅgama*) as rivers, etc. In a different arrangement, to be hereafter noticed, this category is termed *pudgala* matter.

The five remaining categories are distributed into two classes, that which is to be effected (*sādhya*) and the means thereof (*sādhanā*) : one comprising two, and the other three divisions. What may be effected (*sādhya*) is either liberation or confinement : both of which will be noticed further on. The three efficient means (*sādhanā*) are as follows :

III. *Āsrava* is that which directs the embodied spirit (*āsravyati puruṣam*) towards external objects. It is the occupation or employment (*vṛtti* or *pravṛtti*) of the senses or organs on sensible objects. Through the means of the senses it affects the embodied spirit with the sentiment of taction, colour, smell and taste.

Or it is the association or connection of body with right and wrong deeds. It comprises all the *karmas* ; for they pervade (*āsravyanti*), influence, and attend the doer, following him or attaching to him.

[4] Sankara and other commentators on *Br. Sutra*, and annotators on their gloss.

It is a misdirection (*mithyā pravṛtti*) of the organs : for it is vain, as cause of disappointment, rendering the organs of sense and sensible objects subservient to fruition.

IV. *Samvara* is that which stops (*samvṛṇoti*) the course of the foregoing ; or closes up the door or passage of it : and consists in self command, or restraint of organs internal and external, embracing all means of self control, and subjection of the senses, calming and subduing them.

It is the right direction (*samyak pravṛtti*) of the organs.

V. *Nirjarā* is that which utterly and entirely (*nir*) wears and antiquates (*jarayati*) all sin previously incurred, and the whole effect of works or deeds (*karma*). It consists chiefly in mortification (*tapas*) : such as fasts, rigorous silence, standing upon heated stones, plucking out the hair by the roots, etc.

This is discriminated from the two preceding, as neither misdirection nor right direction, but non-direction (*apravṛtti*) of the organs towards sensible objects.

VI. *Bandha* is that which binds (*badhnāti*) the embodied spirit. It is confinement and connection, or association, of the soul with deeds. It consists in a succession of births and deaths as the result of works (*karman*).

VII. *Mokṣa* is liberation, or deliverance of the soul from the fetters of works. It is the state of a soul in which knowledge and other requisites are developed.

Releived from the bondage of deeds through means taught by holy ordinances, it takes effect on the soul by the grace of the ever-perfect Arhat or Jina.

Or liberation is continual ascent. The soul has a buoyancy or natural tendency upwards, but is kept down by corporeal trammels. When freed from them, it rises to the region of the liberated.

Long immersed in corporeal restraint, but released from it, as a bird let loose from a cage, plunging into water to wash off the dirt with which it was stained, and drying its pinions in the sun-shine, sores aflote, so does the soul, released from long confinement, soar high, never to return.

Liberation then is the condition of a soul of all impediments.

It is attained by right knowledge, doctrine and observances and is a result of the unrestrained operation of the soul's natural tendency, when passions and every other obstacles are removed.

Works or deeds (for so the term *karma* signifies, though several among those enumerated be neither acts nor the effect of action) are reckoned eight and are distributed into two classes, comprising four each : the first, *ghātin*, mischievous and *asādhu* impure, as maring deliverance ; the second *aghātin*, harmless or *sādhu* pure, as opposing no obstacle to liberation.

I. In the first set

1st., *Jñānāvaraṇīya*, the erroneous notion that knowledge is ineffectual ; that liberation does not result from a perfect acquaintance with true principles and that such science does not produce final deliverance.

2nd., *Darśanāvaraṇīya*, the error of believing that deliverance is not attainable by study of the doctrine of the Arhats or Jinas.

3rd., *Mohanīya*, doubt and hesitation as to particular selection among the many irresistable and infalliable ways taught by the Tirthankaras or Jinas.

4th., *Antarāya*, interference, or obstruction offered to those engaged in seeking deliverance and consequent prevention of this accomplishment of it.

II. In the second set

1st., *Vedanīya*, individual consciousness : reflection that 'I am capable of attaining deliverance'.

2nd., *Nāmika*, individual consciousness of an appellation ; reflection that 'I bear this name'.

3rd., *Gotrika*, consciousness of race or linage ; reflection that I am descendant of a certain disciple of Jina, native of certain province.

4th., *Āyuṣka*, association or connection with the body or person, that (as the etymology of the term denotes), which proclaims (*cayate*) age (*āyuṣya*) or duration of life.

Otherwise interpreted the four *karmas* of this 2nd set, taken in the inverse order, that is beginning with *āyuṣka* impart procreating and subsequent progress in the formation of the person or body whence deliverance is attainable by the soul which animates it ; for it is by connextion with white or immaculate matter that final liberation can be accomplished. I shall not dwell on the particular explanation respectively of these four *karmas*, taken in this sense.

Another arrangement, which likewise has special reference to final deliverance, is taught is a five-fold distribution of the predicaments or categories (*astikāya*). The word here referred to is explained as signifying a substance commonly occuring ; or a term of general import; or (conformable with its etymology) that of which it is said (*cayate*) that 'it is' (*asti*)—in other words, that of which existence is predicted.

1. The first is *jīvāstikāya* : the predicament, life or soul. It is, as before, noticed, either bound, liberated or ever-perfect.

2. *pudgalāstikāya* : the predicament, matter comprehending all bodies composed of atoms. It is sixfold, comprising the four elements and all sensible objects, fixed or movables. It is the same with *ajīva* or second of the categories enumerated in an arrangement before noticed.

3. *Dharmāstikāya* : the predicament, virtue ; inferrable from a right direction of the organs. *Dharma* is explained as a substance or thing ((*dravya*) from which may be concluded, as its effect, the soul's ascent to the region above.

4. *Adharmāstikāya* : the predicament, vice ; or the reverse of the foregoing. *Adharma* is that which causes the soul to continue embarrassed with body, notwithstanding its capacity for ascent and natural tendency to soar.

5. *Ākāśāstikāya* : the predicament, *ākāśa*, of which there are 2 : *lokākāśa*, *alokākāśa*.

(a) *Lokākāśa* is the abode of the cloud ; a world region consisting of diverse tiers, one above the other, wherein dwell successive orders of beings unliberated.

(b) *Alokākāśa* is the abode of the liberated above all worlds (*lokas*)-or mundane beings. Here *Ākāśa* implies that whence there is no return.

The Jaina gymnosophits are also cited[5] for arrangement which enumerates 6 substances (*dravya*) as constituting the world, viz., :

1. *Jīva*, the soul.

II. *Dharma*, virtue ; a particular substance pervading the world and causing soul's ascent.

III. *Adharma*, vice pervading the world and causing the soul's continuance with body.

IV. *Pudgala*, matter ; substance having colour, odour, savour, and tactility ; as wind, fire, water and earth, either atoms, or aggregates of atoms ; individual body, collective worlds, etc.

V. *Kāla*, time ; a particular substance, which is practically treated, as past, present and future.

6. *Ākāśa*, a region, one and infinite.

To reconcile the concurrence of opposite qualities in the same subject at different times, and in different substances at the same time, the Jainas assume seven cases deemed by them opposite for obviating the difficulty (*bhaṅga*, *naya*) : 1st. May be, it is (some how, in some measure, it is so) ; 2nd. May be, it is not ; 3rd. May be it is, it is not (successively) ; 4th. May be, it is not predicable ; (opposite qualities co-existing) ; 5th. The first and fourth of these taken together ; May be it is, and yet not predicable ; 6th. The second and fourth combind ; May be it is not and not predicable ; 7th. The Third (or the first and second) and the fourth united ; May be it is and it is not, and not predicable.

This notion is selected for confutation by the Vedantins to show the futility of the Jaina doctrine. "It is", they observe, "doubt or surmise, not certainty nor knowledge Opposite qualities cannot co-exist in the same subject. Predicament are not unpredicable : they are not to be affirmed if not affirmable : but they either do exist or do not ; and if they do, they are to be affirmed : to say that a thing is and is not, is as incoherent as a madman's talk or an idiots babble."[6]

[5] Ramanuja on *Br. Sutra.*
[6] Sankara on *Br. Sutra*, 2.2. 6 (s.33).

Another point, selected by the Vedantins for animadversion is the position, that the soul and body agree in dimensions.[7] In a different stage of growth of body or of transmigration of soul, they would not be conformable : passing from the human condition to that of an ant or of an elephant the soul would be too big or too little for the new body animated by it. If it be augmented or diminissed by accession or secessation of parts to suit either the change of person or corporeal growth between infancy and puberty, then it is variable, and of course is not perpetual. If its dimentions be such as it ultimately retains, when released from body then it has been uniformly such in its original and intermediate associations with corporeal frames. If it, yet be of finite magnitude, it is not ubiquitary and eternal.

The doctrine of atoms, which the Jainas have in common with the Bauddhas and the Vaisesikas (followers of Kanada) is controverted by the Vedantins.[8] The train of reasoning is to the following effect :

"Inherent qualities of the cause, the Vaisesiks and the rest argue, give origin to the like qualities in the effect as white yarn makes white cloth : were a thinking being the world's cause, it would be ended with thought ? The answer is that according to Kanada himself, substances great and long result from atoms minute and short : like qualities then are not always found in the causes and in the effect.

"The whole world, with its mountains, seas, etc., consists of substances composed of parts disposed to union : as cloth is wove of a multitude of threads. The utmost sub-division of compound substances pursued to the last degree, arrives at the atom, which is eternal, being simple : and such atoms, which are elements, earth, water, fire and air became the world's cause. According to Kanada : for there can be no effect without a cause. When they are actually and universally separated, dissolution of the world has taken place. At its renovation, atoms concur by an unseen virtue which occasions actions and they form double atoms and so on, to constitute air ; then fire, next water ; and afterwords earth ; subsequently body with its organs ; and ultimately this whole world. The concurrence of atoms arises from action (whether of one or both) which must have a cause that cause, alleged to be an unseen virtue, cannot be insensible, for an insensible cause cannot incite action : nor can it be design, for a being capable of design is not yet existent, coming later in the progress of creation. Neither way, then, no action can be ; consequently no union

[7] Sankara on *Br. Sutra*, 2.2.6 (s.34-36).
[8] *Ibid.*, 2.2. 2 & 3 (s.11-17).

or disunion of atoms ; and these, therefore, are not the cause of the world's formation or dissolution.

"Eternal atoms and transitory double atoms differ utterly and union of discordant principles cannot take place. If aggregation be assumed as a reason of their union, still the aggregate and its integrants are utterly different and an intimate relation is further to be sought, as a reason for the aggregation. Even this assumption therefore fails.

"Atoms must be essentially active or inactive : were they essentially active, creation would be perpetual ; if essentially inactive, dissolution would be constant.

"Eternity of causeless atoms is incompatible with properties ascribed to them ; colour, taste, smell and tactility : for things possessing such qualities are seen to be coarse and transient. Earth ended with those four properties is gross, water possessing three is less so ; fire, having two, is still less ; and air, with one is fine. Whether the same be admitted or denied in respect of atoms the argument is either way confuted : earthly particles, coarse than aerial, would not be minute in the utmost degree ; or atoms possessing but a single property, would not be like their effect possessing several.

"The doctrine of atoms is to be utterly rejected, having been by no venerable persons received, as the Sankhya doctrine of matter, a plastic principle, has been, in part, by Manu and other sages."[9]

Points, on which the sectaries differ from the orthodox, rather than those on which they conform are the subjects of the present treatise. On one point of conformity, however, it may be right to offer a brief remark as it is one on which the Jainas appear to lay particular stress. It concerns the transmigration of the soul, whose destiny is especially governed by the dying thoughts, or fancies entertaining at the moment of dissolution.[10] The Vedas[11] in like manner, teach that the thoughts, inclinations and resolves of man and such peculiaitry as predominate in his dying moment, determine the future character and regulate the subsequent place in transmigration As was his thought in one body such he becomes in another, into which he accordingly passes.

from the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, pages 549-79.

[9] Sankara on *Br. Sutra*, 2.2. 3 (s.17).
[10] See *Transact. of the Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. I, p.437.
[11] *Br. Sutra*, 1.2.1.

The Jaina

DOUGLAS M. THRONTON

'He that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal.'
—St. John, xii. 25.

The Jaina of To-day

The Jaina, who are the most numerous and influential sect of non-conformists to the Brahmanical system of Hinduism, now number about 1,400,000 in India. They are found in every province of Upper Hindustan, in the cities along the Ganges, and in Calcutta. But they are more numerous to the west, e.g., in Rajputana, Gujarat, and in the upper part of the Malabar coast. They are also scattered throughout the whole of Southern India. Being mostly traders, merchants, or bankers, they live in the towns, and the wealth of many of their community gives them a social importance greater than would result from their mere numbers. It is even said that half the mercantile transactions of India pass through their hands. Their charity is boundless; and they form the chief supporters of the beast hospitals, which the old and striking animistic tenderness for the animals has left in many of the cities of India.

Discovery of their Origin

Until quite recently European scholars did not admit the pretensions of the Jaina to an earlier origin than Buddhism. H. H. Wilson questioned their importance at any period earlier than twelve centuries ago.[1] Weber used to regard 'the Jaina as merely one of the oldest sects of Buddhism'[2]; and Lassen believed that 'they had branched off from the Buddhists'[3]. M. Barth, after discussion of the evidence, still thought that we must regard the Jaina 'as a sect which took its rise in Buddhism'[4]. On the other hand, Oldenberg, who brings later light from the Pali texts to bear on the question, accepts the identity of the Jaina sect with the Nigântha, 'into whose midst the younger brotherhood of Buddha entered'[5].

[1] *Essays and Lectures on the Religion of the Hindus*, by H. H. Wilson. Dr. Reinhold Rost's edition (1862), vol. i. p. 329.
[2] Weber's *Indische Studien*, xvi. 210.
[3] Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iv. 763 ff.
[4] Barth's *Religions of India*, ed. 1882, p. 151.
[5] *Buddha, his Life, his Doctorine, his Order*, by Professor H. Oldenberg.

The learned Jacobi has now investigated the question from the Jaina texts themselves. Oldenberg had proved, out of the Buddhist Scriptures, that Buddhism was a true product of Brahman doctrine and discipline. Jacobi shows that both 'Buddhism and Jainism must be regarded as religions developed out of Brahmanism, not by a sudden reformation, but prepared by a religions movement going on for a long time'. And he has brought forward evidence for believing that Jainism was the earlier outgrowth of the two—evidence which will be more fully discussed later on. He holds that the religion of the Jaina was probably founded by Parsvanath, now revered as the twenty-third Jina; and merely reformed by Mahavira, the contemporary of Buddha.

Following the line of argument that Jacobi has adopted, except where it appears to be somewhat inadequate, we come first to the claims of Mahavira to be the founder of Jainism and a contemporary of Buddha.

Mahavira, the Twenty-fourth Jina

It is now recognized by all scholars that Nataputta, who is commonly called Mahavira or Vardhamana, was a historical person and a contemporary of Sakyamuni, the Buddha ; and that the religion of Jainism which he founded is as old as Buddhism. In fact, both took their rise in that wonderful era of religious speculation upon the ultimate problems of life, about the sixth century before Christ ; and we would remark that in no other age and country do we find diffused among all classes of people so earnest a spirit of inquiry, so impartial and deep a respect for all who came forward as teachers, however contradictory their doctrines might be.

We see then at once that it is most important to compare Mahavira with Buddha, and Buddhism with Jainism, in order to see whether they borrowed any of their teachings from each other, or derived their doctrine, their orders, and their speculations from a common source. In any case, it will be well to note how it was that 'Buddhism proved more adaptable and appealed to more widespread sympathies, till it surpassed and overshadowed Jainism' ; still more interesting to trace the cause of the survival of the latter in British India to-day, while the former has long been extinct.

Mahavira and Buddha[6]

The chief points of resemblance between the respective founders of these religions were these : (1) both were ascetics ; (2) Mahavira had

[6] *S. B. E.*, vol. xxii, *Jaina-Sutras*, pt. i. p. xiii ff.

relations with the same names as those of Buddha, both leaders being of the Kshatriya caste ; (3) both disregarded the authority of the Brahmana in religious matters.

But their difference were far more characteristic than their apparent resemblance, of which so much used to be made. For we read of Buddha as being born in Kapilavastu in the kingdom of Magadha at the foot of the Himalaya. But Mahavira was the son of one King Siddhartha of Kundagrama, not far from Vaisali. And Buddha's mother died directly after his birth, but the parents of Mahavira lived until he was grown up.

Again, amid the halo of legends that gathered about Buddha's life, we are probably right in saying that he turned an ascetic against his father's will. Who has not been touched by the story of 'the four sights which powerfully affected him, and actually decided his future course ? The first object was a decrepit old man : this led him to reflect on the miseries of old age. He next passed a wretched leper, covered with sores : here Gautama's thoughts glanced off to the manifold forms of disease and suffering with which the world abounds. The next object which crossed his path was a dead body ; "And this," said he, "is the end to which I and all must come"... Anon, another object presented itself to him : he beheld a recluse sitting rapt in meditation. "That," said he to himself, "is the only course for me to pursue."... That very night did he quit his home.' Not so with Mahavira, for he waited until his father's death, and then went into retirement with the consent of those in power.

But the striking parrallels and contrasts go further than this. Whereas Buddha led a life of austerities for six years, Mahavira persevered for twelve ; and even afterwards, when he became a Tirthakara, he was still convinced of the necessity of asceticism, whereas Buddha looked upon those six years as wasted time. Thus, after a life time of mutual rivalry, Mahavira is said to have died at Papa, leaving Buddha the advantage of preaching and teaching for many years after, until his touching death at Kusinagara when eighty years of age.

Mahavira, like Buddha, was a member of a feudal aristocracy, whose family ties were strong and long remembered. We know, too, for certain, that Buddha addressed himself chiefly to members of the aristocracy, and the Jaina originally preferred the Kshatriya to the Brahmans. Therefore it is evident that both Buddha and Mahavira made use of their families to propagate their order, which partly accounts for their prevalence at the time over rival sects. Then when it is remembered that

the kingdom of Magadha was extended under Ajatusatru, son of Bimbisara, who figures largely in the life of Buddha—extended so as to include Vaisali, and the birthplace of Mahavira—we see that the foundations were laid of an empire, which facilitated the rapid spread both of Jainism and Buddhism.[7]

A few other points about the founder of Jainism are worthy of notice. After he had spent his twelve years in austerities, during eleven of which he seems to have gone about naked, he became omniscient, and a prophet of the Jaina, called a Tirthakara. Several other titles were then given him, such as Jina, Mahavira, &c. (as with Sakya-muni). Then for thirty years he taught his religious system and organized his order of ascetics, under the patronage of three kings of Videha, Magadha, and Anga. His travels extended west to Sravasti and north to the foot of the Himalaya. His disciples (or apostles of the Jaina) were eleven in number, and are detailed in the *Kalpa-Sūtra*. This list, we have reason to believe, is accurate, since it is given without variation by both sects of the Jaina. Lastly, we have the double testimony of both Jaina and Buddhist Canons that Nataputta (as he is always called by the Buddhists) was a contemporary of Buddha, and that his followers in Vaisali were numerous.[8]

The Influence of Gosala on Mahavira's Doctrines

The *Bhagavatī* states that Gosala, the son of Makkhali, after six years of asceticism with Mahavira as his disciple, separated from him and started a Law of his own, and set up a Jina, the leader of the Ajivika. The Buddhists claim Gosala as coming from a long-established order of monks. Jacobi thinks that Mahavira and Gosala associated with the intention of combining their sects and fusing them into one. This does not seem conclusive.

His reasons are : (1) their long life together presupposes similarity of opinions ; (2) the divisions of animals, and of mankind, into six classes are common to both ; (3) the rules of conduct prove almost conclusively that Mahavira borrowed them from Gosala.

Certainly Mahavira's position was strengthened by his temporary association with Gosala, though, if we believe the Jaina, Gosala himself lost by it, and came to a tragic end.[9]

[7] *S. B. E.*, vol. xxii. pt. i. p. xiv.
[8] *Ibid.*, vol. xxii. pt. i. p. xvi.
[9] *Ibid.*, vol. xlv. pt. ii. p. xxix ff.

Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Jainism

We have already mentioned that it has been generally believed, even by many scholars, that Jainism is a branch of Buddhism. Let us now examine the four points of coincidence which Professor Lassen adduced to prove this point.[10]

I. Both sects give the same titles and epithets to their prophets : e.g., Jina, Arhat, Mahavira, Sarvajna, Sugata, Tathagata, Siddha, Buddha, Sambuddha, Parnivrtta, Mukta.

To this it has been well replied that probably all were 'honorific adjectives and substantives applicable to persons of exalted virtue'. For instance, even today in Jaina writings, 'Buddha' means 'mukta', or 'liberated soul', and yet it was taken by the Buddhists as a title for Gautama. And to go further, Tirthakara, which means 'prophet' with the Jaina, is used of the founder of a heretical sect by the Buddhists. The more natural conclusion, therefore, to arrive at is that Buddhists were opponents of Jaina when they formed their terminology, and not *vice versa.*

II. Both sects now worship mortal men (their prophets) as gods, and erect statues of them in their temples.

But, we answer, this worship had nothing to do with Buddhism or Jainism originally, nor did it originate with the 'yati' or monks, but with the 'sravaki' or laymen of the community. The religious development of the people in India had come to find in '*bhakti*' the supreme means of salvation, and so Professor Jacobi thinks that both sects came to adopt this practice, independently, under the continuous and irresistible tendencies at work in those times.

III. Both sects measure the history of the world by enormous periods of time, which bewilder and awe even the most imaginative fancy.

But so does the Brahman ; in fact, there is as much difference between Buddhist and Jaina chronology as between Buddhist and Brahman. A study of the three system seems to show that while 'the Buddhists have improved on the Brahman system of the Yuga, the Jaina invented their Utsarpini and Avasarpini eras after the model of the day and night of Brahma'. In this case, therefore, the Jaina outdo the Buddhists.

[10] *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iv. 763 ff.

IV. Both sects lay stress on the '*ahimsā*' or not killing a living thing.

This point refers to only one of the five vows of the Jaina and Buddhists, which have so much in common. It will be best, therefore, to compare these vows with one another. as Professor Weber has done, and underneath to place the first five of the ten obligations of the Brahman ascetics, as drawn up by Professor Windisch.

The five Jaina vows in order	*The five Buddhist precepts*
ahimsā, not to destroy life.	One should not destroy life.
sunrita, not to lie.[11]	One should not take that which is not given.[11]
asteya, not to take that which is not given.	One should not tell lies.
brahmacarya, to abstain from sexual intercourse.	One should not become a drinker of intoxicants.
aparigraha, to renounce all interest in worldly things, and to call nothing one's own.[12]	One should refrain from unlawful sexual intercourse ... an ignoble thing.[12]

The five vows of the Brahman ascetics

Abstention from injuring living beings.
Truthfulness.
Abstention from appropriating the property of others.
Continence.
Liberality.[12]

Jaina Vows

A mere glance at the above triple group of vows is enough to convince any candid inquirer, that there is quite as much reason to suppose that Jaina vows are deducible from those of Brahman ascetics already in use, as that Buddhism is the source. It is still more obvious when the precepts and rules of the Brahman ascetics, as in Baudhayana, are arranged alongside of those of the Jaina monks. They have much the same outfit. Both carry a cloth for straining water, and both perform purifications with water when taken out of a tank and strained. The

[11] Note the change in order.
[12] The fifth vow differs in each case, liberality not being possible for mendicants.

Brahman broom has its counterpart in the grasses with which the Jaina sweep the road, where they walk and sit, in order to remove insects. While the stick and the rope belonging to the alms-bowl, the alms-bowl, and the water-vessel are the invariable accompaniments of each. In fact, the only speciality of the Jaina is their filter for the mouth, which they call '*mukhavastrikā*'. On the whole, therefore, the Jaina were fitted out very much like their Brahman models, the Sannyasin or Bhikshu. They have more vows in common with the Brahmans than the Buddhists, and several precepts in common with Brahman ascetics.

There is still another question to decide. Did the Jaina monk copy from the Brahman ascetic, or *vice versa* ? That the former is the case has overwhelming evidence. For, putting aside for a moment the claims of the Sannyasin to be part of the Asrama, which are probably as old as Brahmanism itself, we find traces of Brahman ascetics all over India, at a time when Buddhism was only 200 years old, and still exercising merely a local influence. Therefore it is difficult to conceive how all the Sannyasin could have been taken from the Buddhists.

But still more conclusive is the argument from the date of Gautama, the lawgiver. For Professor Buehler[18] puts down Baudhayana as of a much older date than the *Apastamba*, which we know was written in the fourth or fifth century B.C But Gautama was older than either of these, and yet in his day he taught the complete system of Brahman asceticism.

What then gave rise to the monastic orders of Jaina and Buddhists ? It must be remembered that though these orders were copied, as we have seen, from the Brahmans, they were distinctly intended for the Kshatriya caste, of whom both Mahavira and Buddha were members. This is proved by a curious legend about the transfer of the embryo of Mahavira from the womb of a Brahmani to that of a Kshatriyani. For it was alleged that no other caste was worthy to bring forth a Tirthakara. Now it was only natural that Brahman ascetics should not regard these fellow ascetics as quite their equals, however orthodox they might be ; and that further separation between them should ensue, when it came to be held that the Brahman was entitled to enter the fourth Asrama (or stage), the Kshatriya only three, the citizen two, and the Surda one. A remark of Vasishtha throws light upon this tendency to dissent, when he deplores the fact that non-Brahman ascetics had ceased from reciting the Veda, and hence were neglecting revelation. We can be safe in

[18] *Sacred Laws of the Aryas*, pt. i. Introduction, p. xliii.

saying that the beginnings of dissenting sects like the Jaina and Buddhists arose out of the institution of the fourth Asrama.[14]

But there were other differences of belief taking shape in this age of inquiry.[15] The Brahman philosophy of the *Ātman*, or Universal Soul, was being disputed. And while the Jaina held to the orthodox belief in 'the absolute and permanent soul'—with but one difference that they ascribed to the *Ātman*, a limited space—Buddha went further. 'The very first sermon which he preached to his first converts (was a) discourse on the absence of any sign of "soul" in any of all the constituent elements of individual life.'[16]

At length, therefore, we have arrived at some conclusions about the relationships between Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Jainism, and it will be well here to summarize them. First, that which Buddhists and Jaina have in common, comes in every case from older Brahman sources. Second, in fundamental points the Buddhists and the Jaina are at variance. Third, Mahavira and Buddha were undoubtedly contemporaries one of another.

II

The Authenticity of Jaina Tradition

The above discussion has, however, been conducted on the supposition that the tradition of the Jaina as contained in their sacred books may on the whole be credited. But the intrinsic value of this tradition has been called into question by M. Barth, who is a scholar of cautious judgement. In his opinion, the direct tradition of peculiar doctrines and records had not yet been demonstrated, and he would seem when he wrote to assume that the Jaina must have been careless in handing down their sacred lore.[17] Professor Weber also concludes the introduction to his recent work by saying, 'Personally I still continue to regard the Jaina as one of the oldest of the Buddhist sects'.[18]

A conclusive answer then must be given, before proceeding further, to the question : 'Was the cultivation of the sacred text altogether abandoned in the interval between the days of Mahavira and the redaction

[14] *S. B. E.*, vol. xxii. pp. xxix ff.
[15] Cf. p. 168.
[16] T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism, its History and Literature*, p. 39.
[17] Barth, *The Religions of India*, ch. iv (1882 ed.).
[18] Weber, *Sacred Literature of the Jains*, p. 12.

of the Canon in 454 A.D. ?' In answer to Barth's doubts about the authenticity of Jaina traditions, Jacobi admits that the Jaina sect may have been for a long time small and unimportant, but contends that small sects, like the Jews and the Parsi, often do preserve their doctrines and traditions with great pertinacity, and better than larger religious communities. He points out that the trifling differences in doctrines and usages which caused the various schisms in the Jaina body, indicate that they were most particular about their tenets and that the detailed list of teachers and schools in the Sthaviravali of the *Kalpa-Sūtra* which cannot be a pure fabrication, shows the interest taken in the preservation of records. With respect to the sacred books of the Svetambara, he rejects a portion of the tradition, which says that Devarddhi in the fifth or sixth century caused the *Siddhānta* to be written in books, and introduced the use of MSS. in the instruction of pupils and laymen. He takes only the latter statement to be true, and assumes that MSS. of the *Aṅga* and other sacred works did exist at an earlier period, 'because it is hardly credible that the Jaina monks should never before have attempted to write down what they had to commit to memory'.[19]

There is only one important point on which Jacobi's answer is incomplete. It furnishes no instance in which the tradition of the Jaina is proved to be trustworthy by independent, really historical sources. This led Professor Buehler to enter on a careful examination of all the ancient historical documents which refer to the Jaina. The result has been that he has succeeded in proving the correctness of a great part of the larger list of teachers and schools, preserved in the Sthaviravali of the *Kalpa-Sūtra*. The historical documents corroborating it are the well-known 'Muttra' Inscriptions, published in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Reports*, vol. iii. p. 31 ff., plates xiii-xv.[20]

These Inscriptions[21] bear the date of the era of Indo-Scythian kings over North-Western India, e.g., Kanishka, and though scholars are not quite agreed as to when to fix the beginning of this era, one of the latest dates assigned for Kanishka's accession to the throne is the year 78-79 A.D. The dialect in which they are written shows that curious mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit which is found in the *Gāthā* of the Nothern Buddhists. From them we also learn that the Jaina monks of Mathura formed, between 83 and 167 A.D., an order of a hierarchy, which was

[19] *S. B. E.*, vol. xxii, *Jaina-Sutras*, pt. i. p. xxxviii.

[20] They not only mention the division of the Jaina monks into schools, lines of teachers, and branches, but contain the names of nine *gana*, *kula*, and *sakha*, and of one teacher mentioned in the *Kalpa-Sutra*.

[21] *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1887, vol. i. pp. 169, 179-180.

divided into several schools, each of which counted several subdivisions. Most of the persons named receive the title *vācaka*, or preacher, which is still very commonly given to those ascetics who are considered fit to expound the sacred books to laymen and pupils. One, however, is styled *gaṇin*, 'chief of a school', a somewhat higher title, which even to-day is conferred on an eminent Sadhu. Among the schools the *koṭikagaṇa* shows that it had had a long history, and may safely be considered as having been founded at least a century before the beginning of our era. The existence, therefore, of titles like *vācaka* and *gaṇin*, and of ancient schools at the end of the first century A.D., shows that the Jaina sect had possessed already for a long time 'a continuous and self-conscious existence'. The Inscriptions further prove that the great schism which divided the Jaina into two hostile sections took place, not as modern tradition asserts (in 609 after Vira), but long before the beginning of our era, thus confirming Jacobi's view already put forward. In this way the gap of ten centuries which exists between Vardhmana and Devarddhi is almost filled up by continuous Jaina tradition. The two centuries during which alone no tradition is preserved are thought, by Jacobi, to have been filled up by the use of the fourteen *Pūrva*, of which more will be said later on

The Age of Extant Jaina Literature

The Jaina Canon, or *Siddhānta*, was drawn up at the council of Valabhi, under the presidency of Devarddhi. This date corresponds either to 454 or 467 A.D., and is incorporated into the *Kalpa-Sūtra* (148). 'Devarddhi Ganin,' says the tradition, 'perceiving the *Siddhānta* in danger of becoming extinct, caused it to be written in books.' In olden times it had been the custom of the Brahmans, and hence of the Buddhists and Jaina, to rely on the memory more than on MSS. How early these MSS. were first written we do not know, for no mention is made of them, but it is very likely that as soon as they settled in Upasraya exclusively belonging to themselves, they began to keep them as they do now.

If this view be correct, Devarddhi 'arranged the already existing MSS. in a Canon, taking down from the mouth of learned theologians only such works as had not available MSS.' Then a great many copies were made, in order to furnish every seminary with books. In this way any single passage in a sacred text may have been introduced by the editor, and all we can say with certainty is that the bulk of the *Siddhānta* is not of his making.

What can be ascertained about the date of composition of the sacred books ? There is no proof at all events that the first Tirthakara was the revealer of their contents, though this is a dogmatic theory of the Jaina. But we have three methods by which to determine the latest date to which they may be assigned : the tests of scientific knowledge, of language, and of metres used. For instance, no traces of the elements of Greek astronomy can be found in the *Siddhānta*, and we know that these were introduced into India in the fourth century of our era. Evidently the Jaina Scriptures must have all been composed before then. The language too would give a perfect clue, if it were not that books may have been handed down, not in the language of composition, nor in that of pronunciation. Jacobi thinks that the language has been modernized, for the same word is not always spelt the same way in Jaina texts and MSS. It would be quite impossible, therefore, to restore Devarddhi's recension. But there are other differences between the original and present *Siddhānta* text. Weber speaks of 'lost passages which were extant at the date of the older commentaries, but also large interpolations which are apparent, and furthermore the text has even suffered complete transformations.'[22] He attributes these changes, and the loss of the entire '*Dṛṣtivāda*', to the influence of the orthodox sect of Svetambara, to whom the present *Siddhānta* exclusively belongs.

Probably we must regard these methods of spelling as historical ; that is, all spellings were treated as authentic, and so were preserved. If this assumption is correct, the most archaic spelling represents pronunciation near the time of composition, while modern spelling dates back to the period shortly before the redaction of the Canon took place. Using this proposition, and comparing the Jaina Prakrit in its oldest form with Pali texts on the one side, and later Prakrits on the other, we are led to the conclusion that the sacred books of the Jaina approximate more in point of time to the Southern Buddhists than to later Prakrit writers.

An examination of the metres in use is a still safer guide. What do we find ? It will be sufficient for the sake of example to take the *Vaitālīya*, *Triṣtubha*, and *Āryā* metres and discuss their use. We note then that the Jaina *Sūtrakṛtāṅga-Sūtra* has a whole lesson in the *Vaitālīya* metre ; that Pali verses of the Southern Buddhists and Sanskrit literature of the Northern Buddhists also use the metre ; and further, that the *Dhammapadam* (of the Southern Buddhists) is written in an older style, whereas the *Lalita Vistara* (of the Northern Buddhists) is more modern in point of development. We conclude, therefore, that this one in the

[22] Weber's *Sacred Literature of the Jains*, traslated by Dr. A. W. Smyth (1893), p. 8.

Sūtrakṛtāṅga dates back to a period between the versifications of the Southern and Northern Buddhists.

Take the *Āryā* metre also as a confirmation of the above proof, and the *Dhammapadam*, which is composed in ancient Pali, will be found to contain no such verses. Then notice that the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, just as we should expect if it dated as we have suggested above, contains a whole lecture in an old form of *Āryā* ; and the later the period the more common the *Āryā* metre, till it is found not only in the younger parts of the *Siddhānta*, and in Brahman literature (whether in Prakrit or Sanskrit), but also in the works of the Northern Buddhists (e.g., the *Lalita Vistara*).

Lastly, the form of the *Triṣṭubha* metre in ancient Jaina works is younger than that in the Pali literature and older than that in the *Lalita Vistara*. In all three cases then it appears that the *Gāthā* of the *Lalita Vistara* are more modern than those in the Jaina *Siddhānta*. Hence Jacobi puts down 'the chronological position of the oldest parts of the Jaina literature as intermediate between the Pali and the *Lalita Vistara*'.

We have seen that the date of the oldest works in the Jaina Canon makes them older than the *Gāthā* of the *Lalita Vistara*. What date are we to assign to the latter ? We know that it is said to have been translated into Chinese in 65 A.D. Therefore extant Jaina literature must all be placed earlier than our era. Again, from the close comparison of Pali, Jaina, and later Prakrits, it has been shown that Jaina literature resembles that of the Southern more than that of the Northern Buddhists. Compare this with Max Mueller's conclusion to his discussion on the point, when he fixes the latest date of a Buddhist Canon at the time of the Second Council, 377 B.C. and it will be seen that the whole of the Jaina *Siddhānta* was composed after the fourth century B.C., and before the Christian era. It is interesting then to notice that the traditions of the Svetambara agree fairly well with this independent reasoning. For they say that their *Aṅga* were brought together at the time when Candragupta was on the throne. And this date is given by Max Mueller as 315-291 B.C , and by Westergaard and Kern as 320 B.C. Therefore the composition of the Jaina Canon would fall somewhere between the end of the fourth and beginning of the third century B.C. Both sects of the Jaina attributes the collection of works to Bhadrabahu.

Works older than the existing Canon

Besides the Jaina Scriptures, the Svetambara and Digambara speak of some older works called *Pūrva*, as well as the *Aṅga*. There were

said to be fourteen of these, but in time the knowledge of them was lost, and they became totally extinct. The Svetambara hold that these fourteen *Pūrva* were incorporated in the twelfth *Aṅga*, the *Dṛṣṭivāda*, which was lost before the thousandth year of their era, i.e., before the redaction under Devarddhi. Anyhow a detailed account, or table of contents, is found in the fourth *Aṅga*, the *Samavāyāṅga*, and in the *Nandī Sūtra*. There are two reasons for believing that this tradition is correct. First, the word '*pūrva*' means 'former', and second, the *Aṅga* do not derive their authority from the *Pūrva*, and there would be no need to fabricate the idea.

How then was it that the *Pūrva* were superseded by a new Canon ? Weber thinks that the Svetambara lost the *Dṛṣṭivāda*, because they had begun so to differ from the tenets of the book that the *Pūrva* fell into neglect.[23] Jacobi holds that the *Pūrva* were probably only of temporary value, and contained accounts of philosophical controversies held between Mahavira and his rivals. The title '*pravāda*' which is added to the name of every *Pūrva* seems to favour this view. Whereas if the Svetambara be accused of losing the *Pūrva*, the Digambara seem to have lost their *Aṅga* as well within the first two centuries after the *Nirvāṇa*.

In this case the neglect of the *Pūrva* was due, not so much to any direct intention, as to the fact that the new Canon set forth the Jaina doctrines in a clearer light.

Contents of the Siddhanta.

What then was the Canon of the Jaina Scriptures which Devarddhi Ganin compiled ? The *Siddhānta*, as we now have it is divided into forty-five *Āgama*, in six groups ; several of the texts of the *Āgama* having distinct names as authors. There are :

I. Eleven *Aṅga*.
II. Twelve *Upāṅga*.
III. Ten *Paiṇṇa*.
IV. Six *Cheda*.
V. Two *Sūtra* (*Nandī* and *Anuyogadvāra*).
VI. Four *Mūla-Sūtra*.

Weber has shown that 'the oldest portions of their literature are in reality nothing but *disjecta membra* ; that they are very unequal, and, as regards the date of their composition, separated from each other by extensive periods'. Yet he admits that 'a hand, aiming at unification

[23] *Indische Studien*, xvi. p. 248.

and order, has been brought to bear especially upon the *Aṅga* and *Upāṅga*'. Jacobi also considers that the redaction of the *Aṅga* took place early, and tradition places the event under Bhadrabahu.

III

The Antiquity of Jaina Philosophy

When we come to consider how old Jaina doctrines are, and compare them with that of other schools of thought in India, we find that Jaina ethics are generally based on primitive ideas. As illustrations of these notions, nearly everything is possessed of a soul ; not only have plants their own souls, but particles of earth, cold water, fire, and wind also.[24]

Now ethnology teaches us that animism is the basis of many beliefs that have been called 'the philosophy of savages' ; and that when civilization advances, some kind of anthropomorphism takes its place. Therefore it is natural to conclude that animistic beliefs must have been fairly prevalent, in large classes of Indian society, when Jainism first took its rise. And since this must have happened at an early date, it points to the antiquity of Jaina philosophy.[25]

Another mark Jainism has in common with the oldest Brahman philosophies, *Vedānta* and *Sāṅkhya.* The category of Quality is not yet clearly and distinctly conceived, but is just evolving out of the category of Substance. That is to say, things which we recognize as qualities are constantly mistaken for and mixed up with substances. For instance, the *Sūtra* rarely use the expression '*guṇa*,' or 'qualities' ; but more modern books regularly do so, showing the idea to be a later innovation Again the terms '*dharma*' and '*adharma*' (merit and demerit) are treated of as kinds of substances with which soul comes in contact. Now Professor Oldenberg has pointed out that this was distinctly a primitive conception of the Vedic Hindu, and such a confusion of ideas would never have occurred at a later period.

Some Early Jaina Doctrines

Have we any means of discovering what was the teaching of early days, and whether it corresponded with the doctrines of Mahavira ? It will be admitted, from what has been said above, that the Nigantha

[24] *S. B. E.*, vol. xlv. p. xxxiii.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

or Nirgrantha, now better known as Jaina or Arhata, already existed as an important sect when the Buddhist church was being founded. In order, therefore, to come to a solution of the above question, perhaps it will be best to take from published Buddhist and Jaina works, as the oldest witnesses that we can summon, available information about the Nigantha, their doctrines and religious practices.[26]

I. The Eternity of Atman

There were at the time of the Buddhists and Jaina several other schools of philosophy, whom they each called heretics. And it will not be out of place to mention what were their theories about *Ātman*, the 'soul', or as Professor Max Mueller prefers to translate it—'the self'. First, there were three materialist schools—the one contending that the body and the soul are one and the same ; the second, that, the five elements are eternal and constitute everything as in the following lines :

'Man (*puruṣo*) consists of four elements ; when he dies, earth returns to earth, water to water, fire to fire, wind to wind, and the organs of sense merge into air (or space—'*ākāśa*')'[26] ;

The third school was a variety of the second, and is thus described :

'Some say that there are five elements and the soul is sixth (substance), but they contend that the soul and the world (i.e., the five elements) are eternal. "These (six substances) do not perish neither (without nor with a cause) ; the non-existent does not come into existence, but all things are eternal by their very nature".'[27]

Then we find a fourth school of Fatalists described as saying :

'But misery (and pleasure) is not caused by (the souls) themselves ; how could it be caused by other (agents, as time, &c.) ? Pleasure and misery, final beatitude and temporal (pleasure and pain) are not caused by (the souls) themselves, nor by others ; but the individual souls experience them ; it is the lot assigned them by destiny.'[28]

Lastly, four schools of Agnostics are given us—*Kriyāvāda*, *Akriyāvāda*, *Ajñānavāda*, and *Vamayikavāda*. All these were considered by the Jaina as heretical. These Agnostics, or *Ajñānika*, negatived

[26] Cf. *S. B. E.*, vol. xlv, *Sutrakrtanga*, ii. I, 20-23.
[27] *Ibid.*, i. I 15, 16.
[28] *Ibid.*, i. I, 2, 2, 3.

all modes of expression of the existence or non-existence of a thing, if it were anything transcendental or beyond human experience. And yet there is little doubt that Mahavira owed some of his conceptions to these very heretics, and formulated others under the influences of the day.[29] For instance, the doctrine of *Syādvāda* is identically the same as the *Saptabhanginaya* of the Jaina. It was an ingenious way out of the maze of the *Ajñānavāda* assertions about existence and non-existence.

Amidst all these conflicting views of the Soul, Mahavira kept to the old Brahman idea of the *Ātman*. He held that it was eternal, but that the *Ātman* have only a limited space, instead of being co-extensive with the universe.

II. The *Kriyāvāda*, or the doctrine which teaches that 'the soul acts or is affected by acts'.

There is a story told of Siha, the general, a lay disciple of Nataputta in the sixth Khandhaka of the *Mahāvagga*. He wanted to pay Buddha a visit and went to ask Nataputta's leave. This was Nataputta's answer :

'Why should you, Siha, who believe in the result of actions (according to their moral merit), go to visit the Samana Gautama, who denies the result of action ? He teaches the doctrine of non-action ; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples.'

This doctrine of *Kriyāvāda* was opposed by Buddha's bold teaching about *Akriyāvāda*, which said that 'the soul does not exist, or that it does not act, or is not affected by acts'. Here we recognize the teaching of the different schools of materialists, and in the Brahman philosophy of the *Vedānta*, *Sānkhya*, and *Yoga* schools of thought. Mahavira, on the other hand, agreed with the *Vaiśeṣika* and *Nyāya* schools of Brahman philosophy.

III. Annihilation of Karman

The teaching of Nigantha Nataputta on this point is thus described by Abhaya, a learned Buddhist :

'He teaches the annihilation (by austerities) of the old *Karman*, and the prevention (by inactivity) of new *Karman*. When *Karman*

[29] Cf. What Mahavira taught about the *Kriyavada* lower down.

ceases, misery ceases; when misery ceases, perception ceases when perception ceases, every misery will come to an end. In this way a man is saved by pure annihilation of sin (*nijjara*), which is really effective.'[30]

Very similar is the doctrine of the later books of the *Siddhānta*.

'By austerities he cuts off *Karman*.'[31]

'By renouncing activity he obtains inactivity; by ceasing to act he acquires no new *Karman*, and destroys the *Karman* he had acquired before.'[31]

'*Karman* is the root of birth and death, and birth and death they call misery.'[31]

'A man who is indifferent to the object of the senses, and to the other feelings of the mind, is free from sorrows; though still in the *Samsāra*, he is not afflicted by that long succession of pains, just as the leaf of the Lotus (is not moistened) by water.'[32]

IV. The three *Daṇḍa* (*daṇḍa* being a word meaning 'punishment'). Niganlha Upali, who like Siha was converted to Buddha's teaching, tells us that there are three *daṇḍa*, the *daṇḍa* of the body, that of the speech, and that of the mind. This is almost identical with the Jaina doctrine. For we are told that Nataputta 'also declared that there were three *daṇḍa* or agents for the commission of sin, and that the acts of the body (*kāya*), of the speech (*vāc*), and of the mind (*mana*), were three separate causes, each acting independently of the other'.[33] He adds that the Nigantha considered sins of the body more important than sins of the mind, and that this was a point of contention between Jaina and Buddhists. We have a direct confirmation of this fact in Jaina works, for the very question as to whether sin may be committed unconsciously is discussed there, and a bold affirmative is given.[34] But lower down the Buddhists are even ridiculed for maintaining that the intention of a man decides whether a deed be sin or not.[35]

V. Parsva and the doctrine of '*Cātuyāma Samvarasamvuto*'. This word, translated 'restraint in four directions'[36], is equivalent to the *Cātujjāma*, a well-known Jaina term which denotes 'the four vows of

[30] *Anguttara Nikaya*, iii. 74.
[31] *S. B. E.*, vol. xlv. p. xv, and *Uttaradhyana*, Lect. xxix. 27, 37, 71, 72.
[32] *Ibid.*, xxxii. vv. 7, 34, 47, &c.
[33] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ix. p. 159.
[34] *S. B. E.*, vol. xlv, *Sutrakritanga*, ii. 4, p. 339.
[35] *Ibid.*, ii. 6, pp. 414-416.
[36] Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, ix. 158 ff. 'On Mahavira and his predecessors'.

Parsva' in contradistinction to the five vows of Mahavira. Here the Buddhists have probably made a mistake in ascribing to Mahavira a doctrine which properly belonged to his predecessor Parsva. Professor Jacobi, therefore, looks upon this as a proof that the Jaina tradition is correct in asserting that 'followers of Parsva actually existed at the time of Mahavira'.

Parsva's followers are mentioned in the Jaina *Sūtra* in quite a matter-of-fact way (especially Kesi, who seems to have been a leader of the sect in the time of Mahavira), so that there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of these records. There is an interesting legend of how the old and new body were united.[37] And indications of some estrangement, even then, though not open hostility, may point to the cause of the division of the body into Svetambara and Digambara. It was evidently a matter of time, and in the end developed into a great schism.

Also the Nigantha are frequently mentioned in the *Pitaka*, as opponents or converts of Buddha and his disciples. They must have been an important sect by the time Buddhism took its rise. Hence they must have existed before Nataputta.

There is yet another proof. Makkhali Gosala divided mankind into six classes, and the third were the Nigantha. Hence, since he was a contemporary of Buddha and Mahavira, it is clear that the Nigantha had already attained to great importance.

Early Religious Practices

Jacobi has deciphered some exhortations to a Savaka, or Nigantha layman, as follows :[38]

'Well, sir, you must desist from doing injury to beings in the East beyond a *yojana* from here, or to those in the West, North, South, always beyond a *yojana* from here.'[39]

This is evidently a trace of the *Digvirati* vow of the Jaina, which lays down limits beyond which one shall not travel or do business in different directions

Again, later on it says :

[37] Cf. *Uttaradhyayana*, Lect. xxiii.
[38] *Anguttara Nikaya*, iii. 70, 3.
[39] Pali Text Society, *Sumangala Vilasini*, p. 119.

'Well, sir, take off all your clothes and declare : I belong to nobody and nobody belongs to me.'

According to this statement, the duties of a Nigantha layman became during certain days equal to those of a monk ; it was on common days only that the difference between a layman and monk was realized.

Comparing this rule with that of present-day observances of the Jaina, throughout these specified days, we seem to see that Jaina have abated somewhat in their rigidity with regard to the duties of a layman.

Also Buddhaghosa says that the Nigantha hold the opinion that 'the soul has no colour, in contradistinction to the Ajivika, who divide mankind into six classes according to the colour of the soul (*Ātman*).' Both Nigantha and Ajivika, however, agree that 'the soul continues to exist after death and is free from ailments (*aroga*)'.

Again, Buddhaghosa says that Nigantha Nataputta considers cold water to be possessed of life, for which reason he does not use it. This is of course a wellknown doctrine of the Jaina.

Leading Jaina Doctrines of To-day

We do not intend to discuss all the present-day doctrines of the Jaina, which constitute the philosophy of their system, but only a few of the leading tenets. According to original authorities, all objects—sensible or abstract—are arranged under nine categories, termed *Tattva* (truths or existences).

I. *Jīva* or 'life', is reducible to two classes. The first comprises animals, men, demons, and gods ; the second, all combinations of the four elements—earth, water, fire, air—and all the products of the vegetable kingdom. These are further arranged into five classes, according to the number of *Indriya* they possess. It is a peculiarity of the Jaina notions of life, that it is always adapted to the body it animates, diminishing with the gnat and expanding with the elephant. Life is defined, generically, as having no beginning or ending, but endowed with its own attributes of agent and enjoyer, proportionate to the body it animates. Through sin it passes into animals, through virtue and vice combined it passes into men, through virtue alone it ascends to heaven ; through the annihilation of both vice and virtue it obtains emancipation.

II. *Ajīva*, or 'inertia', comprises objects or properties devoid of consciousness and life. These are vaguely classed, and generally incapable of interpretation. Their number is commonly set down as fourteen, the symbol of vitality. For *Ajīva*, as well as *Jīva*, can never be destroyed, though its form may change.

III. *Puṇya*, or 'good', is whatever causes happiness to living beings. There are as many as forty-two kinds of goodness enumerated.

IV. *Pāpa*, or 'ill', is the cause of man's unhappiness ; eighty-two kinds are enumerated.

V. *Āsrava* is the source from which the evil acts of living beings proceed. There are five specified sources—the *Indriya* or organs of sense, the *Kaṣāya* or passions, the *Avrata* or non-observance of positive commands, and the *Yoga* or attachment of the mind, speech, and body to any act ; and last of all, the *Kriyā* or acts, which are prompted in twenty-six different ways.

VI. *Samvara* is the cause by which acts are stored up or impeded. The ingenious Jaina can think of fifty-seven ways in which this can be done, e.g., by secrecy, endurance, gentleness.

VII. *Nirjarā* is the religious practice that destroys mortal impurities. It is a kind of penance, positive because repentant, and negative because of fasting and continence.

VIII. *Bandha* is the association of life with acts, as of milk with water, or fire with a red-hot iron.

IX. *Mokṣa* is the last of the nine principles, and consists in the liberation of the spirit from the bonds of action. It amounts to exemption from the incidents of life, and from the necessity of being born again. It implies profound calm, as of a fire gone out, or of the setting of a star, or of the dying of a saint. 'It is not annihilation but increasing apathy which they (both Jaina and Buddhists) understand to be the extinction of their saints, and which they esteem to be supreme felicity.'

The means by which *Mokṣa* is to be attained are called, as in the case of Buddhism, the three jewels—right faith, right knowledge, right conduct. Right faith is unswerving belief in the Jina, who was originally a man 'bound' like others, but who has attained by his own

exertions to emancipation and complete knowledge, and has preached the truth to suffering humanity.

Right knowledge is the knowledge of the system promulgated by the Jina. 'The world of Brahman cosmology is uncreated and eternal. Its component parts are six substances, Souls, *Dharma* (or moral merit), *Adharma* (or sin), space, time, and atoms of matter. By the combination of these atoms are produced the four elements, and human bodies, as well as the phenomena of the world of sense, and the heavenly worlds.' The Jaina are as extravagant with regard to time as with regard to space. They consider that human bodies and human lives increase during the *Utsarpiṇī*, and diminish during the *Avasarpiṇī*—periods of incredible length. The doctrine of bondage of souls as held by the Jaina, is practically identical with the views held by Indian thinkers generally. But they stand alone in maintaining that souls are to be found 'in apparently lifeless masses, in stone, in clods of earth, in drops of water, in fire, and in wind'.

Right conduct divides itself into two branches, according as it is incumbent upon the Jaina monk or layman. The Jaina monk, as we have seen above, on entering the order takes five vows ; not only is he to abstain from these sins himself in thought, word, and deed, but he is not to cause others to be guilty of them. These rules are carried out to the letter. The rules binding on laymen are less strict. They are expected to abstain from gross violation of the five precepts. They must be faithful to the marriage vow, and promise not to increase their wealth by unfair means. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that Jaina laymen are noted for their wealth. They are of course forbidden to indulge in flesh and spirituous drinks, and any other kinds of food (e.g., honey) which involve injury to animal life. Agriculture too is forbidden, as an injury to the 'earth-body'. Even the ordering another man to plough a field is stigmatized as a sin.

The result of all this teaching has been to make Jaina laymen serious, well-conducted, and humane men, ready to endure great sacrifices for their religion, and especially for the welfare of animals. Advantage has been taken of this, under British rule, to enlist their sympathies with veterinary science.[40]

Jaina Ritual and Pantheon

Buehler thinks that the original atheistic system of the Jaina was fitted out with an elaborate cult, as a concession to the lay mind. It is

[40] Tawney, *Kathakosa*, pp. xii-xv (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, ii. 1895.)

anyhow evident from the *Kathākoṣa*, or Jaina folk-lore, that the Jaina worship many gods. Their chief objects of worship are the Jina, or Tirthakara, whom they adore with flowers and incense and candles. Hymms of praise are sung in their honour, and pilgrimages are made to places hallowed by their memories. But, like the Buddhists they allow the existence of the Hindu gods, and have admitted into their worship any of those that are connnected with the tales of their saints, e.g., Indra, Sakra, Garuda, Sarasvati, Laksmi. They have quite a pantheon, now of Bhuvanapati, Asura, Naga, Gandhana, &c., inhabiting the celestial and infernal regions, mountains, forests, and lower air.[41]

Each Tirthakara has a separate *cinha*, or sign, which is usually placed below his image. An excellent list of the Jina, from Rishabha to Mahavira, appears in Burgess's *Cave Temples of India*. Each Jina is accompanied by his distinctive sign (e.g., *vṛṣa*—bull, *śeṣa*—hooded snake), his colour, and his place of *Nirvāṇa*. There are five favourites among the twenty-four, especially the first, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth.

Jaina Temples

The Jaina possess some of the most remarkable places of pilgrimage in India, situated in the midst of most lovely mountain scenery, in the west, and south, and east. At Palitana, in Kathiawar, West India, is the temple-covered hill of Satrunjaya, the most sacred of the pilgrimage-resorts of the Jaina, so that Jaina from all parts of India desire to erect temples upon it. There are temples of every size, from three feet square to large marble halls, with columns and towers and plenty of openings. The latter are thus graphically described by Fergusson[42] : 'They are situated in *tuks*, or separate enclosures, surrounded by high fortified walls ; the smaller ones line the silent streets A few Yati, or priests, sleep in the temples, and perform the daily services, and a few attendants are constantly there to keep the place clean, or to feed the sacred pigeons, who are the sole denizens of the spot ; but there are no human habitations, properly so called, within the walls. The pilgrim or the stranger ascends in the morning, and returns when he has performed his devotions or satisfied his curiosity. He must not eat, or at least must not cook his food, on the sacred hill, and he must not sleep there. It is the city of the gods, and meant for them only, and not intended for the use of mortals.' Some of these temples date from the eleventh century, but the majority have been built in the present century.

[41] Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 488.

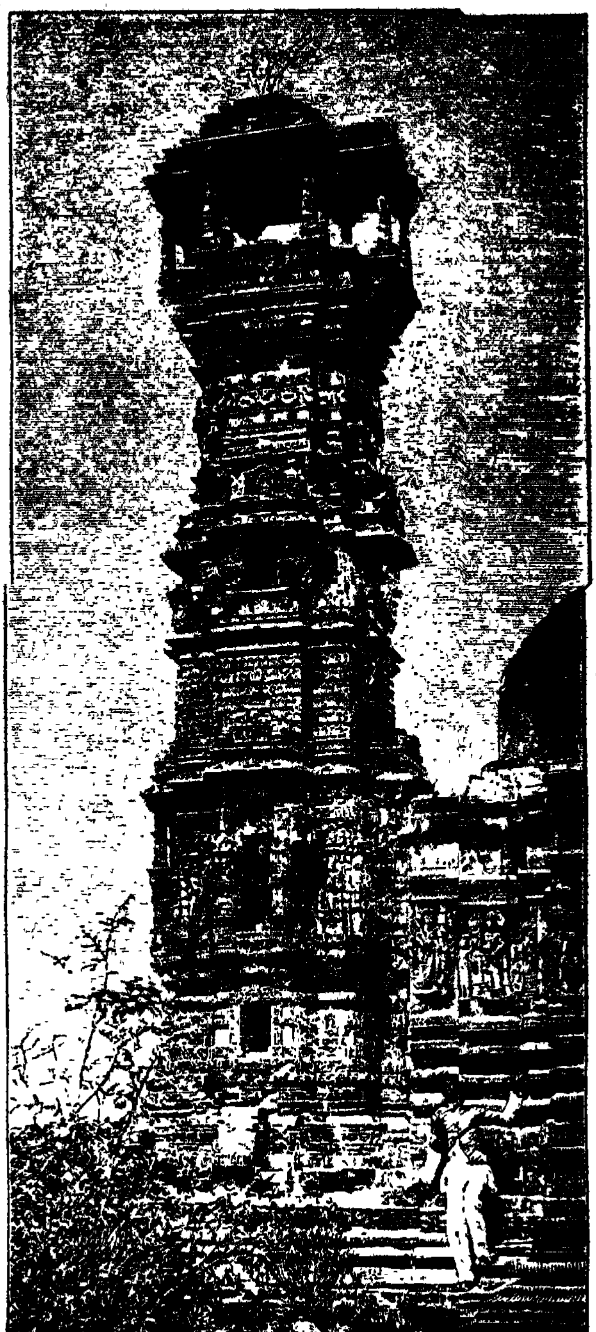
[42] Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. iii. bk. ii. p. 226.



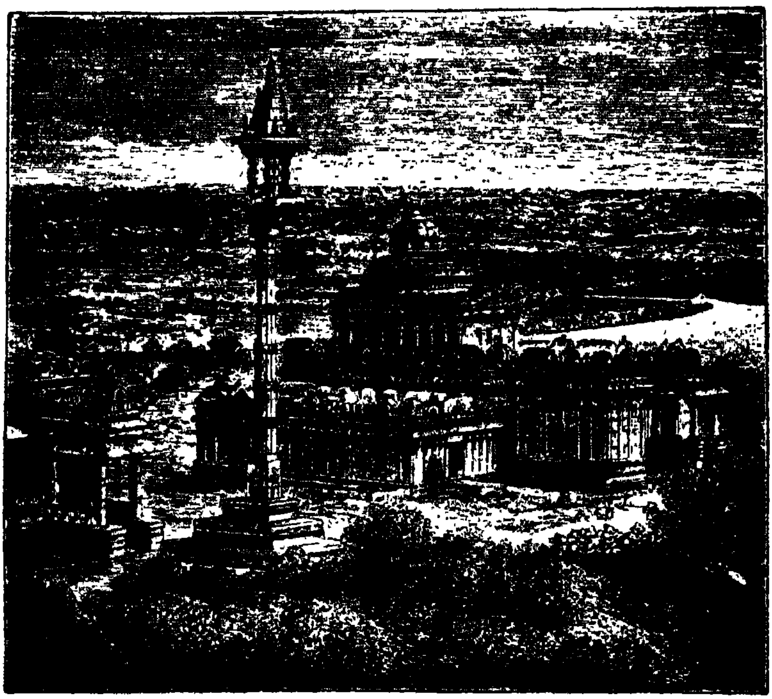
The Sacred Hill of Satruniaya, near Palitana looking south-west



Yavana guard at Rani-ka-naur Cave, Udayagiri



Jaina Tower at Chitor



Jaina Bastis at Sravana Belgola

The other most important place of pilgrimage in the west was Mount Abu, on the borders of Rajputana. Five temples, wholly of white marble, are built there, which for minute delicacy of carving and beauty stand almost unrivalled. It is a beautiful spot, 'rising from the desert as abruptly as an island from the ocean', and presenting on almost every side inaccessible scarps 5,000 ft. or 6,000 ft. high. 'The summit can only be approached by ravines that cut into its sides.' This makes it all the more remarkable that the white marble should have been conveyed there, for no quarries are to be found within three hundred miles of the spot, and the carrying work must have involved immense expenses.

The highest point of the Bengal range of hills was also selected by the Jaina as a sacred spot. 'No less than nineteen of their twenty-four Tirthakara are said to have died and been buried there, among others Parasnath, the last but one, and he consequently gave the hill the name it now bears... Before, however, Jainism became politically important, the centre of power had gravitated towards the west. Were it not for this, there seems little doubt but that Parasnath would have been more important in their eyes than Palitana and Girnar.'[43]

Other temples in North Jaina style are found at Girnar, Gwalior, and Khajuraho ; but in Southern India they are divided into two classes, called *Basti* and *Bettu*. The former are temples containing an image of one of the twenty-four Tirthakara ; but the latter are not temples in the ordinary sense of the word, but courtyards open to the sky, containing images, not of a Tirthakara, but of one Gomata, who is unknown to the Northern Jaina. These kinds of temples are found at Sravana Belgula, Moodbidri, and Gurusaukerry.[44]

the Maitland Prize Essay for 1897. From Some Minor Religious Sects in India, pages 39-68.

[43] Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. iii, bk. ii, pp. 240-241.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 265 ff.

The Indian Sect of the Jainas

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The Jaina sect is a religious society of modern India, at variance to Brahmanism, and possesses undoubted claims on the interest of all friends of Indian history. This claim is based partly on the peculiarities of their doctrines and customs, which present several resemblances to those of Buddhism, but, above all, on the fact that it was founded in the same period as the latter.

Larger and smaller communities of Jainas or Arhata—that is followers of the prophet, who is generally called simply the Jina, 'the conqueror of the world', or the Arhat, 'the holy one', are to be found in almost every important Indian town, particularly among the merchant class. In some provinces of the West and North-west, in Gujarat, Rajputana, and the Punjab, as also in the Dravidian districts in the South,—especially in Kanara,—they are numerous ; and, owing to the influence of their wealth, they take a prominent place. They do not, however, present a compact mass, but are divided into two rival branches—the Digambara and Svetambara[1]—each of which is split up into several sub-divisions. The Digambara, that is, "those whose robe is the atmosphere", owe their name to the circumstance that they regard absolute nudity as the indispensable sign of holiness,[2]—though the advance of civilization has compelled them to depart from the practice of their

[1] In notes on the Jainas, one often finds the view expressed, that the Digambaras belong only to the South, and the Svetambaras to the North. This is by no means the case. The former in the Punjab, in eastern Rajputana and in the North-West Provinces, are just as numerous, if not more so, than the latter, and also appear here and there in western Rajputana and Gujarat ; see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 28.

[2] The ascetics of lower rank, now called Pandit, now-a-days wear the costume of the country. The Bhattaraka, the heads of the sect, usually wrap themselves in a large cloth (*Caddar*). They lay it off during meals. A disciple then rings a bell as a sign that entrance is forbidden (*Ind. Ant. loc. cit.*). When the present custom first arose cannot be ascertained. From the description of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (St. Julien, *Vide*. p. 224), who calls them Li-hi, it appears that they were still faithful to their principles in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. "The Li-hi (Nirgranthas) distinguish themselves by leaving their bodies naked and pulling out their hair. Their skin is all cracked, their feet are hard and chapped : like rotting trees that one sees near rivers."

theory. The Svetambara, that is, "they who are clothed in white", do not claim this doctrine, but hold it as possible that the holy ones, who clothe themselves, may also attain the highest goal. They allow, however, that the founder of the Jaina religion and his first disciples disdained to wear clothes. They are divided, not only by this quarrel, but also by differences about dogmas and by a different literature. The seperation must therefore be of old standing. Tradition, too, upholds this—though the dates given do not coincide. From inscriptions it is certain that the split occured before the first century of our era.[3] Their opposing opinions are manifested in the fact that they do not allow each other the right of intermarriage or of eating at the same table,—the two chief marks of social equality. In spite of the age of the schism, and the enmity that divides the two branches, they are at one as regards the arrangement of their communities, doctrine, discipline, and cult,—at least in the more important points ; and, thus, one can always speak of the Jaina religion as a whole.

The characteristic feature of this religion is its claim to universality, which it holds in common with Buddhism, and in opposition to Brahmanism. It also declares its object to be to lead all men to salvation, and to open its arms—not only to the noble Aryan, but also to the low-born Sudra and even to the alien, deeply despised in India, the Mleccha.[4] As their doctrine, like Buddha's, is originally a philosophical ethical system intended for ascetics, the disciples, like the Buddhists, are, divided into ecclesiastics and laity. At the head stands an order of ascetics, originally Nirgrantha, "they, who are freed from all bonds", now usually called Yatis, "Ascetics", or Sadhus, "Holy", which, among the Svetam-

[3] See below p. 204.

[4] In the stereotyped introduction to the sermons of Jina it is always pointed out that they are addressed to the Aryan and non-Aryan. Thus in the *Aupapatika Sutra* 56 (Leumann) it runs as follows : *tesim savvesim ariyamanariyanam agilae dhammam aikkhai*, "to all these, Aryans and non-Aryans, he taught the law untiringly". In accordance with this principle, conversion of people of low caste, such as gardeners, dyers, etc., are not uncommon even at the present day. Muhammadans too, regarded as Mleccha, are still received among the Jaina communities. Some cases of the kind were communicated to me in Ahmedabad in the year 1876, as great triumphs of the Jainas. Tales of the conversion of the Emperor Akbar, through the Patriarch Hiravijaya (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 256) and of the spread of the Digambara sect in an island Jainabhadri, in the Indian Ocean (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 28) and in Arabia, shew that the Jainas are familiar with the idea of the conversion of the non-Indians. Hiuen Tsiang's note on the appearance of the Nirgrantha or Digambara in Kiapishi (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, p. 55), points apparently to the fact that they had, in the North-West at least, spread their missionary activity beyond the borders of India.

bara also admits women[5] and under them the general community of the Upasaka, "the worshippers", or the Sravaka, "the hearers".

The ascetics alone are able to penetrate into the truths which Jina teaches, to follow his rules and to attain to the highest reward which he promises. The laity, however, who do not dedicate themselves to the search after truth, and cannot renounce the life of the world, still find a refuge in Jainism. It is allowed to them as hearers to share its principles, and to undertake duties, which are a faint copy of the demands made on the ascetics. Their reward is naturally less. He who remains in the world cannot reach the highest goal, but he can still tread the way which leads to it. Like all religions of the Hindus founded on philosophical speculation, Jainism sees this highest goal in *Nirvāṇa* or *Mokṣa*, the setting free of the individual from the *Samsāra*,—the revolution of birth and death. The means of reaching it are to it, as to Buddhism, the three jewels—the right Faith, the right Knowledge, and the right Walk. By the right Faith it understands the full surrender of himself to the teacher, the Jina, the firm conviction that he alone has found the way of salvation, and only with him is protection and refuge to be found. Ask who Jina is, and the Jaina will give exactly the same answer as the Buddhist with respect to Buddha. He is originally an erring man, bound with the bonds of the world, who,—not by the help of a teacher, nor by the revelation of the *Vedas*—which, he declares, are corrupt—but by his own power, has attained to omniscience and freedom, and out of pity for suffering mankind preaches and declares the way of salvation, which he has found. Because he has conquered the world and the enemies in the human heart, he is called Jina, "the Victor", Mahavira, "the great hero" ; because he possesses the highest knowledge, he is called Sarvajna or Kevalin, the "omniscient", Buddha, the "enlightened" ; because he has freed himself from the world he receives the names of Mukta, "the delivered one", Siddha and Tathagata, "the perfected", Arhat "the holy one" , and as the proclaimer of

[5] Even the canonical works of the Svetambara, as for example, the *Acaranga* (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII, p. 88-186) contain directions for nuns. It seems, however, that they have never played such an important part as in Buddhism. At the present time, the few female orders among the Svetambara consist entirely of virgin widows, whose husbands have died in childhood, before the beginning of their life together. It is not necessary to look upon the admission of nuns among the Svetambara as an imitation of Buddhist teaching, as women were received into some of the old Brahmanical orders ; see my note to *Manu*, VIII, 363, (*Sac. Bks. of the East*, Vol. XXV, p. 317). Among the Digambaras, exclusion of which was demanded from causes not far to seek. They give as their reason for it, the doctrine that women are not capable of attaining *Nirvana* ; see Peterson, Second Report in *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII, p. 84.

the doctrine; he is the Tirthakara "the finder of the ford", through the ocean of the *Samsāra*. In these epithets, applied to the founder of their docrine, the Jainas agree almost entirely with the Buddhists, as the likeness of his character to that of Buddha would lead us to expect. They prefer, however, to use the names Jina and Arhat, while the Buddhists prefer to speak of Buddha as Tathagata or Sugata. The title Tirthakara is peculiar to the Jainas. Among the Buddhists it is a designation for false teachers.[6]

The Jaina says further, however, that there was more than one Jina. Four and twenty have, at long intervals, appeared and have again and again restored to their original purity the doctrines darkened by evil influences. They all spring from noble, warlike tribes. Only in such, not among the low Brahmana can a Jina see the light of the world. The first Jina Rsabha,—more than 100 billion oceans of years ago,—periods of unimaginable length,[7]—was born as the son of a king of Ayodhya and lived eight million four hundred thousand years. The intervals between his successors and the durations of their lives became shorter and shorter. Between the twenty third, Parsva and the twenty fourth Vardhamana, were only 250 years, and the age of the latter is given as only seventy-two years. He appeared, according to some, in the last half of the sixth century, according to others in the first half of the fifth century B.C. He is of course the true, historical prophet of the Jainas and it is his doctrine, that the Jainas should believe. The dating back of the origin of the Jaina religion again, agrees with the pretensions of the Buddhists, who recognise twenty-five Buddhas who taught the same system one after the other. Even with Brahmanism, it seems to

[6] The titles Siddha, Buddha and Mukta are certainly borrowed by both sects from the terminology of the Brahmans, which they used, even in older times, to describe those saved during their lifetime (*jivanmukta*). The surnames Vira or Mahavira and Arhat are probably derived from the same source. For Vira is used in the Saivite doctrine to describe a consecrated one who is on the way to redemption. An Arhat, among the Brahmans, is a man distinguished for his knowledge and pious life (comp. for example Apastamba, *Dharmasutra*. I, 13, 13 ; II, 10, 1.) and this idea is so near to that of the Buddhist and the Jainas that it may well be looked upon as the foundation of the latter. The meaning of Tirthakara "prophet, founder of religion", is derived from the Brahmanic use of *tirtha* in the sense of "doctrine". Comp. also H. Jacobi's Article on the Title of Buddha and Jina, *Sac. Books of the East.*, Vol. XXII, pp. xix-xx.

[7] A *Sagara* or *Sagaropama* of years is, 100,000,000,000,000 *Palya* or *Palyopama*. A *Palya*, is a period in which a well of one or, according to some, a hundred *yojana*, i.e., of one or a hundred geographical square miles, stuffed full of fine hairs, can be emptied, if one hair is pulled out every hundred years ; Wilson, *Select Works*, Vol. I, p. 309 ; Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II, p. 194, ed. Cowell.

be in some distant manner connected, for the latter teaches in its cosmogony, the successive appearance of Demiurges, and wise men—the fourteen Manus, who, at various periods helped to complete the work of creation and proclaimed the Brahmanical law. These Brahmanical ideas may possibly have given rise to the doctrines of the twenty-five Buddhas and twenty-four Jinas which, certainly, are latter additions in both systems.

The undoubted and absolutely correct comprehension of the nine truths which the Jina gives expression to, or of the philosophical system which the Jina taught, represents the second jewel—the true Knowledge. Its principal features are in short as follows : [8]

The world (by which we are to understand, not only the visible, but also imaginary continents depicted with the most extravagant fancy, heavens and hells of the Brahmanical Cosmology, extended by new discoveries, is uncreated. It exists, without ruler, only by the power of its elements, and is everlasting. The elements of the world are six substances—Souls, *Dharma* or moral merit, *Adhrama* or sin, Space, Time, particles of Matter. From the union of the latter spring four elements—earth, fire, water, wind, and further, bodies and all other appearances of the world of sense and of the supernatural worlds. The forms of the appearances are mostly unchangeable. Only the bodies of men and their age decrease or increase in consequence of the greater or less influence of sin or merit, during immeasurably long periods,—the *Avasarpiṇī* and the *Utsarpiṇī*. Souls are, each by itself, independent, real existences whose foundation is pure intelligence, and who possess an impulse to action. In the world they are always chained to bodies. The reason of this confinement is that they give themselves up to the stress of activity, to passions, to influences of the senses and objects of the mind, or attach themselves to a false belief. The deeds which they perform in the bodies are *Karman*, merit and sin. This drives them—when one body has passed away, according to the conditions of its existence—into another, whose quality depends on the character of the *Karman*, and will be determined especially by the last thoughts springing from it before death. Virtue leads to the heavens of the gods or to birth among men in pure and noble races. Sin consigns the souls to the lower regions, in the bodies of animals, in plants, even into masses of lifeless

[8] More complete representations are to be found in Colebrooke's *Misc. Eassays*, Vol. I, pp. 404, 413, with Cowell's Appendix p. 444-452 ; Vol. II, pp. 194, 196, 198-201 ; H. H. Wilson's *Select Works*, Vol. I, pp. 297-302, 305-317 ; J. Stevenson, *Kalpa Sutra*, pp. xix-xxv ; A. Barth, *Religions de l' Inde*, pp. 84-91.

matter. For, according to the Jaina doctrine, souls exists not only in organic structures, but also in apparently dead masses, in stones, in lumps of earth, in drops of water, in fire and in wind. Through union with bodies the nature of the soul is affected. In the mass of matter the light of its intelligence is completely concealed ; it loses consciousness, is immovable, and large or small, according to the dimensions of its abode. In organic structures it is always conscious ; it depends however, on the nature of the same, whether it is movable or immovable and possessed of five, four, three, two, or one organ of sense.

The bondage of souls, if they inhabit a human body, can be abolished by the suppression of the causes which lead to their confinement and by the destruction of the *Karman*. The suppression of the causes is accomplished by overcoming the inclination to be active and the passions, by the control of the senses, and by steadfastly holding to the right faith. In this way will be hindeied the addition of new *Karman*, new merit or new guilt. The destruction of *Karman* remaining from previous existences can be brought about either spontaneously by the exhaustion of the supply or by asceticism. In the latter case the final state is the attainment of a knowledge which penetrates the universe, to *Kevala Jñāna* and *Nirvāṇa* or *Mokṣa* : full deliverance from all bonds. These goals may be reached even while the soul is still in its body. If however the body is destroyed then the soul wanders into the "No-World" (*aloka*) as the Jaina says, i.e., into the heaven of Jina "the delivered", lying outside the world. There it continues eternally in its pure intellectual nature. Its condition is that of perfect rest which nothing disturbs. There fundamental ideas are carried out in the particulars with a subtilness and fantasy unexampled, even in subtile and fantastic India, in a scholarly style, and defended by the *syādvāda*—the doctrine of "it may be so",—a mode of reasoning which makes it possible to assert and deny the existence of one and the same thing. If this be compared with the other Indian systems, it stands nearer the Brahman than the Buddhist, with which it has the acceptance in common of only four, not five elements. Jainism touches all the Brahman religions and Buddhism in its cosmology and ideas of periods, and it agrees entirely with regard to the doctrines of *Karman*, of the bondage, and the deliverance of souls. Atheism, the view that the world was not created, is common to it with Buddhism and the Sankhya philosophy. Its philosophy approaches that of the latter in that both believe in the existence of innumerable independent souls. But the doctrine of the activity of souls and their distribution into masses of matter is in accordance with the Vedanta, according to which the principle of the soul penetrates every thing existing. In the further development of the soul doctrine,

the conceptions 'individual soul' and 'living being' to which the Jaina and Brahaman give the same name,—*Jīva*, seem to become confounded. The Jaina idea of space and time as real substance is also found in the Vaisesika system. In placing *Dharma* and *Adharma* among substances Jainism stands alone.

The third jewel, the right Walk which the Jaina ethics contains, has its kernel in the five great oaths which the Jaina ascetic takes on his entrance into the order. He promises, just as the Brahman penitent, and almost in the same words, not to hurt, not to speak untruth, to appropriate nothing to himself without permission, to preserve chastity, and to practise self-sacrifice. The contents of these simple rules become most extraordinarily extended on the part of the Jainas by the insertion of five clauses, in each of which are three separate active intruments of sin, in special relation to thoughts, words, and deeds. Thus, concerning the oath not to hurt, on which the Jaina lays the greatest emphasis : it includes not only the intentional killing or hurting of the living being, plants, or the souls existing in dead matter, it requires also the utmost carefulness in the whole manner of life, in all movements, a watchfulness over all functions of the body by which anything living might be hurt. It demands finally strict watch over the heart and tongue, and the avoidance of all thought and words which might lead to dispute and quarrel and thereby to harm. In like manner the rule of sacrifice means not only that the ascetic has no house or possessions, it teaches also that a complete unconcern toward agreeable and disagreeable impressions is necessary, as also the sacrifice of every attachment to anything living or dead.[9]

Beside the conscientious observance of these rules, *Tapas*—Asceticism is most important for the right walk of those, who strive to attain *Nirvāṇa*. Asceticism is inward as well as outward. The former is concerned with self-discipline, the cleansing and purifying of the mind. It embraces repentance of sin, confession of the same to the teacher, and penance done for it, humility before teachers and all virtuous ones, and the service of the same, the study and teaching of the faith or holy writing, pious meditations on the misery of the world, the impurity of the body, etc. and lastly, the stripping off of every thing pertaining to the world. On the other hand, under the head of exterior Asceticism,

[9] On the five great vows see the *Acaranga Sutra*, II, 15 ; *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII, Pp. 202-210. The Sanskrit terms of the Jainas are : (1) *ahimsa*, (2) *sunrta*, (3) *asteya*, (4) *brahmacarya*, (5) *aparigraha* ; those of the Brahmanical ascetics : (1) *ahimsa*, (2) *satya*, (3) *asteya*, (4) *brahmacarya*, (5) *tyaga*.

the Jaina understands, temperance, begging, giving up all savoury food, different kinds of self-mortification such as sitting in unnatural and wearying positions, hindering the action of the organs especially by fasts, which, under certain circumstances may be continued to starvation. Voluntary death by the withdrawal of nourishment is according to the strict doctrine of the Digambara, necessary for all ascetics, who have reached the highest step of knowledge. The Kevalin, they say, eats no longer. The milder Svetambara do not demand this absolutely, but regard it, as a sure entrance to *Nirvāṇa*. In order, however, that this death may bear its fruits, the ascetic must keep closely to the directions for it, otherwise he merely lengthens the number of rebirths.[10]

From these general rules follow numerous special ones, regarding the life of the disciple of Jina. The duty of sacrifice forces him, on entrance into the order, to give up his possessions and wander homeless in strange lands, alms-vessel in hand, and if no other duty interferes, never to stay longer than one night in the same place. The rule of wounding nothing means that he must carry three articles with him, a straining cloth, for his drinking water, a broom, and a veil before his mouth, in order to avoid killing insects. It also commands him to avoid all cleansing and washing, and to rest in the four months of the rainy season, in which animal and plant life displays itself most abundantly. In order to practise asceticism, it is the rule to make this time of rest a period of strictest fasts, most diligent study of the holy writings, and deepest meditation. This duty also necessitates the ascetic to pluck out in the most painful manner his hair which, according to oriental custom, he must do away with at his consecration—a peculiar custom of the Jainas, which is not found among other penitents of India.

Like the five great vows, most of the special directions for the discipline of the Jaina ascetic are copies, and often exaggerated copies, of the Brahmanic rules for penitents. The outward marks of the order closely resemble those of the Sannyasin. The life of wandering during eight months and the rest during the rainy season agree exactly ; and in many other points, for example in the use of confession, they agree with the Buddhists. They agree with Brahmans alone in ascetic self-torture, which Buddhism rejects ; and specially characteristic is the fact

10 With reference to asceticism, comp. Leumann, *Aupapatika Sutra* 30. The death of the wise ones by starvation is described. Weber, *Bhagavati Sutra*, II, 266-267 ; Hoernle, *Upasakadasa Sutra*, pp. 44-62 ; *Acaranga Sutra* in *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 70-73. Among the Digambara the heads of schools still, as a rule, fall victims to this fate. Even among the Svetambara, cases of this kind occur ; see K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, Vol. II, pp. 331-332 or 2nd ed. pp. 610-611.

that ancient Brahmanism recommends starvations to its penitents as beneficial.[11]

The doctrine of the right way for the Jaina laity differs from that for the ascetics. In place of the five great vows appear mere echoes. He vows to avoid only serous injury to living beings, i.e., men and animals ; only the grosser forms of untruth—direct lies ; only the most flagrant forms of taking, what is not given, that is, theft and robbery. In place of the oath of chastity there is that of conjugal fidelity. In place of that of self-denial, the promise is not greedily to accumulate possessions and to be contented. To these copies are added seven other vows, the miscellaneous contents of which correspond to the special directions for the discipline of ascetics. Their object is, partly to bring the outward life of the laity into accordance with the Jaina teaching, especially with regard to the protection of living creatures from harm and partly to point the heart to the highest goal. Some contain prohibitions against certain drinks, such as spirits ; or meats, such as flesh, fresh butter, honey, which cannot be enjoyed without breaking the vow of preservation of animal life. Others limit the choice of business which the laity may enter ; for example, agriculture is forbidden, as it involves the tearing up of the ground and the death of many animals, as Brahmanism also holds. Others have to do with mercy and charitableness, with the preserving of inward peace, or with the necessity of neither clinging too much to life and its joys nor longing for death as the end of suffering. To the laity, however, voluntary starvation is also recommended as meritorious. These directions (as might be expected from the likeness of the circumstances) resemble in many points the Buddhist directions for the laity, and indeed are often identical with regard to the language used. Much is however specially in accordance with Brahmanic doctrines.[12] In practical life Jainism makes of its laity earnest men who exhibit a stronger trait of resignation than other Indians and excel in an exceptional willingness to sacrifice anything for their religion. It makes them also fanatics for the protection of

[11] An example may be found in Jacobi's careful comparison of the customs of the Brahmanic and Jaina ascetics, in the beginning of his translation of the *Acaranga Sutra*, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII, pp. xxi-xxix. In relation to the death by starvation of Brahmanical hermits and Sannyasin, see Apastamba, *Dharmasutra* in *S.B.E.*, Vol. II, pp. 154, 156 where (II, 22, 4, and II, 23, 2,) it says of the penitents who have reached the highest grade of asceticism : "Next he shall live on water (then) on air, then on ether."

[12] The *Upasakadasa Sutra* treats of the right life of the laity, Hoernle, pp. 11-37 (*Bibl. Ind.*), and Hemacandra, *Yogasastra*, *Prakasa* ii and iii ; Windisch, *Zeitschrift* der *Deutsch Morg. Ges.*, Bd. XXVIII, pp. 226-246. Both scholars have pointed out in the notes to their translations, the relationship between the precepts and terms of the Jainas and Buddhists. The Jainas have borrowed a large

animal life. Wherever they gain influence, there is an end of bloody sacrifices and of slaughtering and killing the larger animals.

The union of the laity with the order of ascetics has, naturally, exercised a powerful reaction on the former and its development, as well as on its teaching, and is followed by similar results in Jainism and Buddhism. Then, as regards the changes in the teaching, it is no doubt to be ascribed to the influence of the laity that the atheistic Jaina system, as well as the Buddhist, has been endowed with a cult. The ascetic, in his striving for *Nirvāṇa*, endeavours to suppress the natural desire of man to worship higher powers. In the worldly hearer, who does not strive after this goal exclusively, this could not succeed. Since the doctrine gave no other support, the religious feeling of the laity clung to the founder of it : Jina, and with him his mythical predecessors, became gods. Monuments and temples ornamented with their statues were built, especially at those places, where the prophets, according to legends, had reached their goal. To this is added a kind of worship, consisting of offerings of flowers and incense to Jina, of adoration by songs of praise in celebration of their entrance into *Nirvāṇa*, of which the Jaina makes a great festival by solemn processions and pilgrimages to the places where it has been attained.[13] This influence of the laity has become, in course of time, of great importance to Indian art, and India is indebted to it for a number of its most beautiful architectural monuments, such as the splendid temples of Abu, Girnar and Satrunjaya in Gujarat. It has also brought about a change in the mind of the ascetics. In many of their hymns in honour of Jina, they appeal to him with as much fervour as the Brahman to his gods ; and there are often expressions in them, contrary, to the original teaching, ascribing to Jina a creative power. Indeed to Jaina description of the six principal systems goes so far as to number Jainism—as also Buddhism—among the theistic religions.[14]

number of rules directly from the law books of the Brahmana. The occupations forbidden to the Jaina laity are almost all those forbidden by the Brahmanic law to the Brahmans, who in time of need lives like a Vaisya. Hemacandra, *Yogasastra* III, 98-112 and *Upasakadasa Sutra*, pp. 29-30, may be compared with Manu, X, 83-89 ; XI, 64 and 65, and the parallel passages quoted in the synopsis to my translation (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV).

13 For the Jaina ritual, see *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIII, pp. 191-196.

14 The latter assertion is to be found in the *Saddarsanasamuccaya*, Vers. 45, 77-78. A creative activity is attributed to the Jinas even in the Kuhaon inscription which is dated 460-461 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 126). There they are called *adikartr*, the 'original creators'. The cause of the development of a worship among the Jainas was first rightly recognised by Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII, p. xxi. The Jaina worship differs in one important point from that of the Buddhists. It recognised no worship of relics.

But in other respects also the admission of the laity has produced decisive changes in the life of the clergy. In the education of worldly communities, the ascetic—whose rules of indifference toward all and every thing, make him a being concentrated entirely upon himself and his goal—is united again to humanity and its interests. The duty of educating the layman and watching over his life, must of necessity change the wandering penitents into settled monks—who dedicate themselves to the care of souls, missionary activity, and the acquisition of knowledge, and who only now and again fulfil the duty of changing their place of residence. The needs of the lay communities required the continual presence of teachers. Even should these desire to change from time to time, it was yet necessary to provide a shelter for them. Thus the *Upāśraya* or place of refuge, the Jaina monasteries came into existence, which exactly correspond to the Buddhist *Saṅghārāma*. With the monasteries and the fixed residence in them appeared a fixed membership of the order, which on account of the Jaina principle of unconditional obedience toward the teacher, proved to be much stricter than in Buddhism. On the development of the order and the leisure of monastic life, there followed further, the commencement of a literary and scientific activity. The oldest attempt, in this respect limited itself to bringing their doctrine into fixed forms. Their results were, besides other lost works, the so-called *Aṅga*—the members of the body of the law, which was perhaps originally produced in the third century B.C. Of the *Aṅga*, eleven are no doubt preserved among the Svetambaras from a late edition of the fifth or sixth century A.D. These works are not written in Sanskrit, but in a popular Prakrit dialect : for the Jina, like Buddha used the language of the people when teaching. They contain partly legends about the prophet and his activity as a teacher, partly fragments of a doctrine or attempts at systematic representations of the same. Though the dialect is different, they present, in the form of the tales and in the manner of expression, a wonderful resemblance to the sacred writings of the Buddhists.[15] The Digambaras, on the other hand, have preserved nothing of the *Aṅga* but the names. They put in their place later systematic works, also in Prakrit, and asserts, in vindication of their different teaching, that the canon of their rivals is corrupted. In the further course of history, however, both branches

[15] A complete review of the *Anga* and the canonical works which were joined to it later, is to be found in A. Weber's fundamental treatise on the sacred writings of the Jainas in the *Indische Studien*, Bd. XVI, SS. 211-479 and Bd. XVIII, SS. 1-90. The *Acaranga* and the *Kalpa Sutra* are translated by H. Jacobi in the *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII, and a part of the *Upasakadasa Sutra* by R. Hoernle in the *Bibl. Ind.* In the estimates of the age of the *Anga* I follow H. Jacobi, who has throughly discussed the question in *S.B.E.*, *Vol. XXII*, pp. xxxix-xlvii.

of the Jainas have, like the Buddhists, in their continual battles with the Brahmans, found it necessary to make themselves acquainted with the ancient language of the culture of the latter. First the Digambara and later the Svetambara began to use Sanskrit. They did not rest content with explaining their own teaching in Sanskrit works : they turned also to the secular sciences of the Brahmans. They have accomplished so much of importance, in grammer, in astronomy, as well as in some branches of letters, that they have won respect even from their enemies, and some of their works are still of importance to European science. In sourthern India, where they worked among the Dravidian tribes, they also advanced the developement of these languages. The Kanarese literary language and the Tamil and Telugu rest on the foundations laid by the Jaina monks. This activity led them, indeed, far from their proper goal, but it created for them an important position in the history of literature and culture.

The resemblance between the Jainas and the Buddhists, which I have had so often cause to bring forward, suggests the question, whether they are to be regarded as a branch of the latter, or whether they resemble the Buddhists merely because, as their tradition asserts,[16] they sprang from the same period and the same religious movement in opposition to Brahmanism. This question was formerly, and is still sometimes, answered in agreement with the first theory, pointing out the undoubted defects in it, to justify the rejection of the Jaina tradition, and even declaring it to be a late and intentional fabrication. In spite of this the second explanation is the right one, because the Buddhists, themselves confirm the statements of Jainas about their prophet. Old historical traditions and inscriptions prove the independent existence of the sect of the Jainas even during the first five centuries after Buddha's death, and among the inscriptions are some which clear the Jaina tradition not only from the suspicion of fraud but bear powerful witness to its honesty.[17]

[16] The later tradition of the Jainas gives for the death of their prophet the dates 545, 527 and 467 B.C. (See Jacobi, *Kalpa Sutra*, Introd. pp. vii-ix and xxx). None of the sources in which these announcements appear are older than the twelfth century A.D. The latest is found in Hemacandra who died in the year 1172 A.D. The last is certainly false if the assertion, accepted by most authorities, that Buddha's death falls between the years 482 and 472 B. C. is correct. For the Buddhist tradition maintains that the last Jaina Tirthakara died during Buddha's lifetime.

[17] Apart from the ill-supported supposition of Colebrooke, Stevenson and Thomas, according to which Buddha was a disloyal disciple of the founder of the Jainas, there is the view held by H. H. Wilson, A. Weber and Lassen, and generally accepted till twenty-five years ago, that the Jainas are an old sect of the Buddhists. This was based, on the one hand, upon the resemblance of the Jaina doctrines,

The oldest canonical books of the Jaina, apart from some mythological additions and evident exaggerations, contain the following important notes on the life of their prophet.[18] Vardhamana was the younger son of Siddhartha, a nobleman who belonged to the Ksatriya race, called in Sanskrit Jnati or Jnata, in Prakrit Naya, and, according to the old custom of the Indian warrior caste, bore the name of a Brahmanic family the Kasyapa. His mother, who was called Trisala, belonged to the family of the governors of Videha. Siddhartha's residence was Kundapura, the Basukund of to-day, a suburb of the wealthy town of Vaisali, the modern Besarh, in Videha or Tirhut. Siddhartha was son-in-law to the king of Vaisali. Thirty years, it seems, Vardhamana led a worldly life in his parent's house. He married, and his wife Yasoda

writings and to those of the Buddhists, on the other, on the fact that the canonical works of the Jainas shew a more modern dialect than those of the Buddhists, and that authentic historical proofs of their early existence are wanting. I was myself formerly persuaded of the correctness of this view and even thought I recognised the Jainas in the Buddhist school of the Sammatiya. On a more particular examination of Jaina literature, to which I was forced on account of the collection undertaken for the English Government in the seventies, I found that the Jainas had changed their name and were always, in more ancient times, called Nirgrantha or Nigantha. The observation that the Buddhists recognise the Nigantha and relate of their head and founder, that he was a rival of Buddha's and died at Pava where the last Tirthakara is said to have attained *Nirvana*, caused me to accept the view that the Jainas and the Buddhists sprang from the same religious movement. My supposition was confirmed by Jacobi, who reached the like view by another course, independently of mine (see *Zeitschrift der Deutsch Morg. Ges.*, Bd. XXXV, S. 669. Note 1), pointing out that the last Tirthakara in the Jaina canon bears the same name as among the Buddhists. Since the publication of our results in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 143 and in Jacobi's introduction to his edition of the *Kalpa Sutra*, which have been further verified by Jacobi with great penetration, views on this question have been divided. Oldenberg, Kern. Hoernle, and others have accepted this new view without hesitation, while A. Weber (*Indische Studien*, Bd. XVI, S. 240) and Barth (*Revue de l' Histoire des Religions*, tom. III, p. 90) keep to their former standpoint. The latter do not trust the Jaina tradition and believe it probable that the statements in the same are falsified. There are certainly great difficulties in the way of accepting such a position especially the improbability that the Buddhists should have forgotten the fact of the defection of their hated enemy. Meanwhile this is not absolutely impossible as the oldest preserved Jaina canon had its first authentic edition only in the fifth or sixth century of our era, and as yet the proof is wanting that the Jainas, in ancient times, possessed a fixed tradition. The belief that I am able to insert this missing link in the chain of argument and the hope of removing the doubts of my two honoured friends has caused me to attempt a connected statement of the whole question although this necessitates the repetition of much that has already been said, and is in the first part almost entirely a recapitulation of the results of Jacobi's researches.

18 The statement that Vardhamana's father was a mighty king belongs to the manifest exaggerations. This assertion is refuted by other statements of the Jainas themselves. See Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII, pp. xi-xii.

bore him a daughter Anojja, who was married to a noble of the name Jamali, and in her turn had a daughter. In his thirty-first year his parents died. As they were followers of Parsva, the twenty-third Jina, they chose, according to the custom of Jainas, the death of the wise by starvation. Immediately after this Vardhmana determined to renounce the world. He got permission to take this step from his elder brother Nandivardhana and the ruler of the land, divided his possessions and became a homeless ascetic. He wandered more than twelve years, only resting during the rainy season, in the lands of the Ladha, in Vajjabhumi and Subbhabhumi, the Rarha of to-day in Bengal, and learned to bear with equanimity great hardships and cruel ill-treatment at the hands of the inhabitants of those districts. Besides these he imposed upon himself the severest mortifications ; after the first year he discarded clothes and devoted himself to the deepest meditation. In the thirteenth year of this wandering life he believed he had attained to the highest knowledge and to the dignity of a holy one. He then appeared as a prophet, taught the Nirgrantha doctrine, a modification of the religion of Parsva and organised the order of the Nirgrantha ascetics. From that time he bore the name of the venerable ascetic Mahavira. His career as a teacher lasted quite 30 years, during which he travelled about, as formerly all over the country, except during the rainy season. He won for himself numerous followers, both of the clergy and the lay class, among whom, however, in the fourteenth year of his period of techning, a split arose—caused by his son-in-law Jamali.

The extent of his sphere of influence almost corresponds with that of the kingdoms of Sravasti or Kosala, Videha, Magadha, and Anga, the modern Oudh, and the provinces of Tirhut and Bihar. Very frequently he spent the rainy season in his native place Vaisali and in Rajagrha. Among his contemporaries were, a rival teacher Gosala, the son of Mankhali—whom he defeated in dispute, the King of Videha—Bhambhasara or Bimbisara called Srenika, and his sons Abhayakumara and the patricide Ajatasatru or Kunika, who protected him or accepted his doctrine, and also, the nobles of the Licchavi and Mallaki races. The town of Papa or Pava, the modern Padraona is given as the place of his death, where he dwelt during the rainy season of the last year of his life, in the house of the scribe of king Hastipala. Immediately after his death, a second split took place in his community.[19]

[19] Notes on Mahavira's life are to be found especially in *Acaranga Sutra*, in *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 84-87, 189-202 ; *Kalpa Sutra*, *ibid.*, pp. 217-270. The above may be compared with Jacobi's representation, *ibid.*, pp. x-xviii, where most of the identifications of the places named are given, and *Kalpa Sutra*, introd., P. ii. We have to thank Dr. Hoernle for the important information that Vardhmana's birthplace Kundapura is still called Vasukund : *Upasakadasa Sutra*, p. 4. Note 3. The information on the schisms of the Jainas is collected by Leumann in the *Indische Studien.*, Bd. XVII, S. 95 ff.

On consideration of this information, it immediately strikes one, that the scene of Vardahmana's activity is lain in the same part of India as Buddha laboured in, and that several of the personalities which play a part in the history of Buddha also appear in the Jaina legend. It is through the kingdoms of Kosala, Videha and Magadha, that Buddha is said to have wandered preaching, and their capitals Sravasti and Rajagrha are just the places named, where he founded the largest communities. It is also told of the inhabitants of Vaisali that many turned to his doctrine. Many legends are told of his intercourse and friendship with Bimbisara or Srenika, king of Magadha, also of the murder of the latter by his son Ajatasatru, who, tortured with remorse, afterwards approached Buddha ; mention is also made of his brother Abhayakumara, likewise Mankhali Gosala is mentioned among Buddha's opponents and rivals. It is thus clear that the oldest Jaina legend makes Vardhamana a fellow countryman and contemporary of Buddha, and search might be suggested in the writings of the Buddhists for confirmation of these assumptions. Such indeed are to be found in no small number.

Even the oldest works of the Singhalese Canon,—which date apparently from the beginning of the second century B.C., and which at any rate had their final edition in the third,—frequently mention an opposing sect of ascetics, the Nigantha, which the northern texts, written in Sanskrit, recognise among the opponents of Buddha, under the name Nirgrantha whom an old *Sūtra*[20] describes as "heads of companies of disciples and students, teachers of students, well known, renowned, founders of schools of doctrine, esteemed as good men by the multitute". Their leader is also named ; he is called in Pali Nataputta, in Sanskrit Jnatiputra, that is, the son of Jnati or Nata. The similarity between these words and the names of the family Jnati, Jnata or Naya, to which Vardhamana belonged is apparent. Now since in older Buddhist literature, the title 'the son of the family N. N.' is very often used instead of the individual's name, as for example, 'the son of the Sakiya' is put for Buddha—Sakiyaputta, so that it is difficult not to suppose that Nataputta or Jnatiputra, the leader of the Nigantha or Nirgrantha sect, is the same person as Vardhamana, the descendant of the Jnati family and founder of the Nirgrantha or Jaina sect. If we follow up this idea, and gather together the different remarks of the Buddhists about the opponents of Buddha, then it is apparent that his identity with Vardhamana is certain. A number of rules of doctrine are ascribed to him, which are also found among the Jainas, and some events in his life, which we have already found in the accounts of the life of Vardhamana, are related.

[20] The *Mahaparinibbana Sutta* in *S.B.E.*, vol. XI, p. 106.

In one place in the oldest part of the Singhalese canon, the assertion is put into the mouth of Nigantha Nataputta, that the *Kiriyāvāda*—the doctrine of activity, separates his system from Buddha's teaching. We shall certainly recognise in this doctrine, the rule of the *Kiriyā*, the activity of souls, upon which Jainism places so great importance.[21] Two other rules from the doctrine of souls are quoted in a later work, not canonical: there it is stated, in a collection of false doctrine which Buddha's rivals taught, that Nigantha asserts that cold water was living. Little drops of water contained small souls, large drops, large souls. Therefore he forbade his followers, the use of cold water. It is not difficult, in these curious rules to recognise the Jaina dogma, which asserts the existence of souls, even in the mass of lifeless elements of earth, water, fire and wind. This also proves, that Nigantha admitted the classification of souls, so often ridiculed by the Brahmans, which distinguishes between great and small. This work, like others, ascribes to Nigantha the assertion, that the so called three *daṇḍa*—the three instruments by which man can cause injury to creatures—thought, word, and body, are separate active causes of sin. The Jaina doctrine agrees also, in this case, which always specially represents the three and prescribes for each a special control.[22]

Besides these rules, which perfectly agree with one another, there are still two doctrines of the Nigantha to be referred to, which seem to, or really do, contradict the Jainas ; namely, it is stated that Nataputta demanded from his disciples the taking of four not as in Vardhamana's case, of five great vows. Although this difficulty may seem very important at first glance, it is, however, set aside by an oft-repeated assertion in the Jaina works. They repeatedly say that Parsva, the twenty-third Jina only recognised four vows, and Vardhmana added the fifth. The Buddhists have therefore handed down a dogma which Jainism recognises. The question is merely whether they or the Jainas are the more to be trusted. If the latter, and it is accepted that Vardhmana was merely the reformer of an old religion, then the Buddhists must be taxed with an easily possible confusion between the earlier and later teachers. If, on the other hand, the Jaina accounts of their twenty-third prophet are regarded as mythical, and Vardhamana is looked upon as the true founder of the sect,—then the doctrine of the four vows must be ascribed to the latter, and we must accept that he had changed his views on this point.

21 Jacobi, *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, Bd. XXXIV, S. 187 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 159.
22 Jacobi, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 159.

In any case, however, the Buddhist statement speaks for, rather than against, the identity of Nigantha with Jina.[23]

Vardhamana's system, on the other hand, is quite irreconcilable, with Nataputta's assertion that virtue as well as sin, happiness as well as unhappiness is unalterably fixed for men by fate, and nothing in their destiny can be altered by the carrying out of the holy law. It is, however, just as irreconcilable with the other Buddhist accounts of teaching of their opponent ; because it is absolutely unimaginable, that the same man, who lays vows upon his followers, the object of which is to avoid sin, could nevertheless make virtue and sin purely dependent upon the disposition of fate, and preach the uselessness of carrying out the law. The accusation that Nataputta embraced fatalism must therefore be regarded as an invention and an outcome of sect hatred as of the wish to throw discredit on their opponents.[24]

The Buddhist remarks on the personality and life of Nataputta are still more remarkable. They say repeatedly that he laid claim to the dignity of an Arhat and to omniscience which the Jainas also claim for their prophet, whom they prefer simply to call 'the Arhat' and who possess the universe embracing '*Kevala*' knowledge.[25] A history of conversions, tells us further that Nataputta and his disciples disdained to cover their bodies ; we are told just the same of Vardhamana.[26] A story in the oldest part of the Singhalese canon gives an interesting and important instance of his activity in teaching. Buddha, so the legend runs, once came to the town of Vaisali, the seat of the Ksatriyas of the Licchavi race. His name, his law, his community were highly praised by the nobles of the Licchavi in the senate house. Siha, their general, who was a follower of the Nigantha, became anxious to know the great teacher. He went to his master Nataputta, who happened to be staying in Vaisali just then, and asked permission to pay the visit. Twice Nataputta refused him. Then Siha determined to disobey him. He sought Buddha out, heard his teaching and was converted by him. In order to show his attachment to his new teacher he invited Buddha and his disciples to eat with him. On the acceptance of the invitation, Siha commanded his servants to provide flesh in honour of the occasion. This

[23] Jacobi, *loc. cit.*, p. 160, and Leumann, *Actes du Vlieme Congres Int. des Or. Sect. Ary.*, p. 505. As the Jaina accounts of the teaching of Parsva and the existence of communities of his disciples sound trust-worthy, we may perhaps accept, with Jacobi, that they rest on a historical foundation.

[24] Jacobi, *loc. cit.*, p. 159-160.

[25] See for example the account in the *Cullavagga* in *S.B.E.*, Vol. XX, p. 78-79 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 313.

[26] Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 225.

fact came to the ears of the followers of the Nigantha. Glad to have found an occasion to damage Buddha, they hurried in great numbers through the town, crying out, that Siha had caused a great ox to be killed for Buddha's entertainment ; that Buddha had eaten of the flesh of the animal although he knew it had been killed on his account, and was, therefore guilty of the death of the animal. The accusation was brought to Siha's notice and was declared by him to be a calumny. Buddha however preached a sermon after the meal, in which he forbade his disciples to partake of the flesh of such animals as had been killed on their account. The legend also corroborates the account in the Jaina works, according to which Vardhamana often resided in Vaisali and had a strong following in that town. It is probably related to show that his sect was stricter, as regards the eating of flesh, then the Buddhists, a point, which again agrees with the statutes of the Jainas.[27]

The account of Nataputta's death is still more important. "Thus I heard it", says an old book of the Singhalese canon, the *Sāmagāma Sutta*, "once the Venerable one lived in Samagama in the land of the Sakya. At that time, however, certainly the Nigantha Nataputta had died in Pava. After his death the Nigantha wandered about disunited, separate, quarrelling, fighting, wounding each other with words."[28] Here we have complete confirmation of the statement of the Jaina cannon as to the place where Vardhamana entered *Nirvāṇa*, as well as of the statement that a schism occurred immediately after his death.

The harmony between the Buddhist and Jaina tradition as to the person of the head of the Nirgrantha is meanwhile imperfect. It is disturbed by the description of Nataputta as a member of the Brahmanic sect of the Agnivesyayana, whilst Vardhamana belonged to

[27] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 108-117.

[28] The passage is given in the original by Oldenberg, *Zeitsch. der D. Morg. Ges.*, Bd. XXXIV, S. 749. Its significance in connection with the Jaina tradition to their schisms has been overlooked until now. It has also been unnoticed that the assertion, that Vardhamana died during Buddha's lifetime, proves that the latest account of this occurance given by traditions 407 B. C. is false. Later Buddhist legends (Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 266-272) treat Nataputta's death in more detail. In a lengthy account they give as the cause of the same the apostacy of one of his disciples, Upali who was converted by Buddha. After going over to Buddhism, Upali treated his former master with scorn, and presumed to relate a parable which should prove the foolishness of those who believed in false doctrines. Thereupon the Nigantha fell into despair. He declared, his alms-vessel was broken, his existence destroyed, went to Pava, and died there. Naturally no importance is to be given to this account and its details. They are apparently the outcome of sect hatred.

the Kasyapa. The point is however so insignificant, that an error on the part of the Buddhists is easily possible.[29] It is quite to be understood that perfect exactness is not to be expected among the Buddhists or any other sect in describing the person of a hated enemy. Enmity and scorn, always present, forbid that. The most that one can expect is that the majority and most important of the facts given may agree.

This condition is undoubtedly fulfilled in the case on hand. It cannot therefore be denied, that in spite of this difference, in spite also of the absurdity of one article of the creed ascribed to him, Vardhamana Jnatiputra, the founder of the Nirgrantha—or Jaina community is none other than Buddha's rival. From Buddhist accounts in their canonical works as well as in other books, it may be seen that this rival was a dangerous and influential one, and that even in Buddha's time his teaching had spread considerably. Their legends about conversions from other sects very often make mention of Nirgrantha sectarians, whom Buddha's teaching or that of his disciples had alienated from their faith. Also they say in their descriptions of other rivals of Buddha, that these, in order to gain esteem, copied the Nirgrantha and went unclothed, or that they were looked upon by the people as Nirgrantha holy ones, because they happened to have lost their clothes. Such expressions would be inexplicable if Vardhamana's community had not become of great importance.[30]

This agrees with several remarks in the Buddhist chronicles, which assert the existence of the Jainas in different districts of India during the first century after Buddha's death. In the memoirs of the Chinese Buddhist and pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in the beginning of the seventh century of our era, is to be found an extract from the ancient annals of Magadha, which proves the existence of the Nirgrantha or Jainas in their original home from a very early time.[31] This extract relates to be building of the great monastery at Nalanda, the high school of Buddhism in eastern India, which was founded shortly after Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* and mentions incidentaly that a Nirgrantha who was a great astrologer and prophet had prophesied the future success of the new building. At almost as early a period, the *Mahavansa*, composed in the fifth century A.D., fixes the appearance of the Nirgantha in the island

[29] According to Jacobi's supposition, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII, p. xvi, the error was caused, by the only disciple of Vardhamana, who outlived his master, Sudharman being an Agnivesyayana.

[30] See for the history of Siha related above, Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 226, 266, and Jacobi, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII. p. 161.

[31] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II, p. 168.

of Ceylon, it is said that the king Pandukabhaya who ruled in the beginning of second century after Buddha, from 367-307 B.C. built a temple and a monastery for two Nirgranthas. The monastery is again mentioned in the same work in the account of the reign of a later king Vattagamini, *cir.* 38-10 B.C. It is related that Vattagamini being offended by the inhabitants, caused it to be destroyed after it had existed during the reigns of twenty-one kings and erected a Buddhist *Sanghārāma* in its place. The latter piece of information is found also in the *Dīpavansa* of more than a century earlier.[32]

None of these works can indeed be looked upon as a truly historical source. There are, even in those paragraphs which treat of the oldest history after Buddha's death, proofs enough that they simply hand down a faulty historical tradition. In spite of this, their statements on the Nirgrantha, cannot be denied a certain weight, because they are closely connected on the one side with the Buddhist canon, and on the other they agree with the indisputable sources of history, which relate to a slightly later period

The first authentic information on Vardhamana's sect is given by our oldest inscriptions, the religious edicts of the Maurya king Asoka, who, according to tradition was anointed in the year 219 after Buddha's death, and—as the reference to his Grecian contemporaries, Antiochos, Magas, Alexander, Ptolemaeus and Antigonas confirms,—ruled, during the second half of the third century B.C. over the whole of India with the exception of the Deccan. This prince interested himself not only in Buddhism, which he professed in his later years, but he took care, in a fatherly way, as he repeatedly relates, of all other religious sects in his vast kingdom. In the fourteenth year of his reign, he appointed officials, called law-superintendents, whose duty it was to watch over the life of the different communities, to settle their quarrels, to control the distribution of their legacies and pious gifts. He says of them in the second part of the seventh 'pillar' edict, which he issued in the twenty-ninth year of his reign : "My superintendents are occupied with various charitable matters, they are also engaged with all sects of ascetics and householders ; I have so arranged that they will also be occupied with the affairs of the Samgha ; likewise I have arranged that they will be occupied with the Ajivika Brahmans ; I have arranged it that they will

[32] Turnour, *Mahavamsa*, pp. 66-67 and pp. 203, 206 ; *Dipavamsa Mahavamsa*, XI, 14 ; comp. also Kern, *Buddhismus*, Bd. I., S. 422. In the first passage in the *Mahavamsa*, three Niganthas are introduced by name, Jotiya, Giri, and Kumbhanda. The translation incorrectly makes the first a Brahman and chief engineer.

also be occupied with the Nigantha."[33] The word Samgha serves here as usual for the Buddhist monks. The Ajivikas, whose name completely disappears later, are often named in the sacred writings of the Buddhists and the Jainas as an influential sect. They enjoyed the special favour of Asoka, who, as other inscriptions testify, caused several caves at Barabar to be made into dwellings for their ascetics.[34] As in the still older writings of the Buddhist canon, the name Nigantha here can refer only to the followers of Vardhamana. As they are here, along with the other two favourites, counted worthy of special mention, we may certainly conclude that they were of no small importance at the time. Had they been without influence and of small numbers Asoka would hardly have known of them, or at least would not have singled them out from the other numerous nameless sects of which he often speaks. It may also be supposed that they were specially numerous in their old home, as Asoka's capital Pataliputra lay in this land. Whether they spread far over these boundaries, cannot be ascertained.

On the other hand we possess two documents from the middle of the next century which prove that they advanced into south-eastern India as far as Kalinga. These are the inscriptions at Khandagiri in Orissa, of the great King Kharavela and his first wife, who governed the east coast of India from the year 152 to 165 of the Maurya era, that is in the first half of second century B.C.

The larger inscription, unfortunately very much disfigured, contains an account of the life of Kharavela from his childhood till the thirteenth year of his reign. It begins with an appeal to the Arhat and Siddha, which corresponds to the beginning of the five-fold form of homage still used among the Jainas, and mentions the building of temples in honour of the Arhat as well as an image of the first Jina, which was taken away by a hostile king. The second and smaller inscription asserts that Kharavela's wife caused a cave to be prepared for the assceties of Kalinga, "who believed in the Arhat".[35]

[33] See Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, tom II, p. 82. Ed. VIII, 1. 4. My translation differs from Senart's in some points especially in relation to the construction. Comp. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, pp. 272 f.

[34] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX., pp. 361 ff.

[35] The meaning of these inscriptions, which were formerly believed to be Buddhist, was first made clear by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji's careful discussion in the *Actes du Vlie'me Congre's Internat des Orientalistes Sect. Ary.*, pp. 135-159. He first recognised the true names of the King Kharavela and his predecessors and showed that Kharavela and his wife were patrons of the Jainas. We have to thank him for the information that the inscription contains a date in the Maurya Era. I

From a somewhat later period, as the characters show, from the first century B.C. comes a dedicatory inscription which has been found far to the west of the original home of the Jainas, in Mathura on the Jumna. It tells of the erection of a small temple in honour of the Arhat Vardhamana, also of the dedication of seats for the teachers, a cistern and a stone table. The little temple, it says stood beside the temple of the guild of tradesmen and this remark proves, that Mathura, which, according to the tradition of the Jainas, was one of the chief seats of their religion, possessed a community of Jainas even before the time of this inscription.[36]

A large number of dedicatory inscriptions have come to light, which are dated from the year 5 to 98 of the era of the Indo-Scythian kings, Kaniska, Huviska, and Vasudeva (Bazodeo) and therefore belong at latest to the end of the first and to the second century A.D. They are all on the pedestals of statues, which are recognisable partly by the special mention of the names of Vardhamana and the Arhat Mahavira, partly by absolute nudity and other marks. They show, that the Jaina community continued to flourish in Mathura and give besides extraordinarily important information, as I found in a renewed research into the ancient history of the sect. In a number of them, the dedicators of the statues give not only their own names, but also those of the religious teachers to whose communities they belonged. Further, they give these teachers their official titles, still used among the Jainas : *vācaka*, 'teacher', and *ganin*, 'head of a school'. Lastly they specify the names of the schools to which the teachers belonged, and those of their subdivisions. The shools are called *gaṇa*, 'companies' ; the subdivisions, *kula* 'families',

have thoroughly discussed his excellent article in the *Oesterreichischen Monatsschrift*, Bd. X, S. 231 ff. and have there given my reasons for differing from him on an important point, namely, the date of the beginning of the Maurya Era, which according to his view begins with the conquest of Kalinga by Asoka about 155 B. C. Even yet I find it impossible to accept that the expression, "in the hundred and sixty-fifth year of the Maurya Kings can mean anything else then that 164 years have passed between the thirteenth year of the rule of Kharavela and the anointing of the first Maurya king Chandragupta. Unfortunately it is impossible to fix the year of the latter occurence, or to say more than that it took place between the years 322 and 312 B. C. The date given in Kharavela's inscription cannot therefore be more closely fixed than that it lies between 159 and 147 B.C. I now add to my former remarks that appeals to the Arhat and Siddha appear also in Jaina inscriptions from Mathura and may be taken as a certain mark of the sect. Thus it is worthy of note that even in Hiuen Tsiang's time, (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II, p. 205) Kalinga was one of the chief seats of the Jainas.

36 This inscription also was first made known by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, *loc. cit.*, p. 143.

and *śākhā* 'branches'. Exactly the same division into *gaṇa śākhā*, and *kula* is found in a list in one of the canonical works of the Svetambaras, the *Kalpa Sūtra*, which gives the number of the patriarchs and of the schools founded by them, and it is of the highest importance, that, in spite of mutilation and faulty reproduction of the inscriptions, nine of the names, which appear in the *Kalpa Sūtra* are recognisable in them, of which, part agree exactly, part, through the fault of the stone-mason or wrong reading by the copyist, are somewhat defaced. According to the *Kalpa Sūtra*, Susita, the ninth successor to Vardhamana in position of patriarch together with his companion Supratibuddha, founded the 'Kodiya' or 'Kautika *gaṇa*' which split up into four '*śākhā*', and four '*kula*'. Inscription No. 4. which is dated in the year 9 of the king Kaniska or 87. A.D. (?) gives us a somewhat ancient form of the name of the *gaṇa* Kotiya and that of one of its branches exactly corresponding to the Vairi *śākhā*. Multilated or wrongly written, the first word occurs also in inscriptions Nos. 2, 6 and 9 as *koto*, *kattiya* and *ka*...... the second in No. 6 as *Vora*. One of the families of this *gaṇa*, the Vaniya *kula* is mentioned in No. 6, and perhaps in No. 4. The name of a second, the Prasnavahanaka seems to have appeared in No. 19. The last inscription mentions also another branch of the Kotiya *gaṇa*, the Majhima *śākhā*, which, according to the *Kalpa Sūtra*, was founded by Priyagantha the second disciple of Susthita. Two still older schools which according to tradition, sprang from the fourth disciple of the eighth patriarch, along with some of their divisions appear in inscriptions Nos. 20 and 10. These are the Aryya-Udehikiya *gaṇa*, called the school of the Arya-Rohana in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, to which belonged the Parihasaka *kula* and the Purnapatrika *śākhā*, as also the Carana *gaṇa* with the Pritidharmika *kula*. Each of these names is, however, somewhat mutilated by one or more errata in writing.

The statements in the inscriptions about the teachers and their schools are of no small importance, in themselves for the history of the Jainas. If, at the end of the first century A.D. (?) many separate schools of Jaina ascetics existed, a great age and lively activity, as well as great care as regards the traditions of the sect, may be inferred. The agreement of the inscriptions with the *Kalpa Sūtra* leads still further however : it proves on the one side that the Jainas of Mathura were Svetambara, and that the schism, which split the sect into two rival branches occured long before the beginning of our era ; on the other hand it proves that the tradition of the Svetambara really contains ancient historic elements, and by no means deserves to be looked upon with distrust. It is quite probable that, like all traditions, it is not altogether free from error. But it can no longer be declared to be the result of a later intentional

misrepresentation, made in order to conceal the dependence of Jainism on Buddhism. It is no longer possible to dispute its authenticity with regard to those points which are confirmed by independent statements of other sects, and to assert, for example, the Jaina account of the life of Vardhamana, which agrees with the statements of the Buddhists, proves nothing as regards the age of Jainism because in the late fixing of the canon of the Svetambaras in the sixth century after Christ it may have been drawn from Buddhist works. Such an assertion which, under all circumstances, is a bold one, becomes entirely untenable when it is found that the tradition in question states correctly facts which lie not quite three centuries distant from Vardhamana's time, and that the sect, long before the first century of our era kept strict account of their internal affairs.[37]

Unfortunately the testimony to the ancient history of the Jainas, so far as made known by means of inscriptions, terminates here. Interesting as it would be to follow the traces of their communities in the later inscriptions, which become so numerous from the fifth century A.D. onwards and in the description of his travels by Hiuen Tsiang, who found them spread through the whole of India and even beyond its boundaries, it would be apart from our purpose. The documents quoted suffice, however, to confirm the assertion that during the first five centuries after Buddha's death both the statements of Buddhist tradition and real historical sources give evidence to the existence of the Jainas as an important religious community independent of Buddhism, and that there are among the historical sources some which entirely clear away the suspicion that the tradition of the Jainas themselves is intentionally falsified.

The advantage gained for Indian history from the conclusion that Jainism and Buddhism are two contemporary sects—having arisen in the same district,—is no small one. First, this conclusion, shows that the religious movement of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. in eastern India must have been a profound one. If not only one, but certainly two, and perhaps more reformers, appeared at the same time, preaching teachers, who opposed the existing circumstances in the same manner, and each of whom gained no small number of the followers for their doctrines, the desire to overthrow the Brahmanical order of things must have been generally and deeply felt. This conclusion shows that the transformation of the religious life in India was not merely the work

[37] See Weber's and Barth's opinions quoted above in note 17.

of a religious community. Many strove to attain this object although separated from one another. It is now recognisable, though preliminarily in one point only, that the religious history of India from the fifth century B.C. to the eighth or ninth A.D. was not made up of the fight between Brahmanism and Buddhism alone. This conclusion allows us, lastly, to hope that the thorough investigation of the oldest writings of the Jainas and their relations with Buddhism on the one hand and with Brahamanism on the other will afford many important ways of access to a more exact knowledge concerning the religious ideas which prevailed in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. and to the establishment of the boundaries of originality between the differenet systems.

from the English translation of Uber die indische secte der Jainas by T. Burgess.



Hermann Jacobi
(1850-1937)

His translations, interpretations and commentaries on the old texts that he found in the various bhandaras of Rajasthan and Gujarat have helped the world know Jainism in its true perspective

Jainism

HERMANN JACOBI

1. Introductory

Jainism is a monastic religion which, like Buddhism, denies the authority of the *Veda*, and is therefore regarded by the Brahmanas as heretical. The Jaina church consists of the monastic order and the lay community. It is divided into two rival sections, the Svetambaras, or 'White-robed' and the Digambaras, or 'Sky-clad' ; they are so called because the monks of the Svetambaras wear white clothes, and those of the Digambaras originally went about stark naked, until the Muhammadans forced them to cover their privities. The dogmatic difference between the two sections are rather trivial;[1] they differ more in conduct, as will be noticed in the course of the article.

The interest of Jainism to the student of religion consists in the fact that it goes back to a very early period, and to primitive currents of religious and metaphysical speculation, which gave rise also to the oldest Indian Philosophies—Sankhya and Yoga[2]—and to Buddhism. It shares in the theoretical pessimism of these systems, as also in their, practical ideal,—liberation. Life in the world perpetuated by the transmigration of the soul, is essentially bad and painful ; therefore it must be our aim to put an end to the Cycle of Births, and this end will be accomplished when we come into possession of right knowledge.[3] In this general principle Jainism agrees with Sankhya, Yoga and Buddhism ; but they differ in their methods of realizing it. In metaphysics there is some general likeness between Sankhya and Yoga on the one hand, and Jainism on the other. For in all these systems a dualism of matter and soul is acknowledged ; the souls are principally all alike substances (*monads*) characterized by intelligence, their actual difference being caused by their connexion with matter ; matter is, according to Jainas and Sankhyas, of indefinite nature, a something that may become any-

[1] See the article 'Digambara', *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.
[2] See those articles, *ERE*.
[3] It may be added that, with the exception of *Yoga*, all these ancient systems are strictly atheistic, i.e., they do not admit an absolute Supreme God ; even in *Yoga*, the Isvara, is not the first and only cause of everything existent.

thing. These general metaphysical principles, however, are worked out on different lines by the Sankhyas and Jainas,[4] the difference being still more accentuated by the different origins of these systems. For the Sankhyas, owing allegiance to the Brahmanas, have adopted Brahmanical ideas and modes of thought,[5] while the Jainas, being distinctly non-Brahmanical, have worked upon popular notions of a more primitive and cruder character, e.g., animistic ideas. But the metaphysical principles of Buddhism are of an entirely different character, being moulded by the fundamental principle of Buddhism, viz., that there is no absolute and permenent Being, or, in other words, that all things are transitory.[6] Notwithstanding the radical difference in their philosophical notions, Jainism and Buddhism, being originally both orders of monks outside the pale of Brahmanism, present some resemblance in outward appearance, so that even Indian writers occasionally have confounded them. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that some European scholars who became acquainted with Jainism through inadequate samples of Jaina literature easily persuaded themselves that it was an offshoot of Buddhism.[7] But it has since been proved beyond doubt that their theory is wrong, and that Jainism is at least as old as Buddhism. For the canonical books of the Buddhists frequently mention the Jainas as a rival sect, under their old name Nigantha (Skr. Nirgrantha, common Prakrit Nigganthа) and their leader in Buddha's time, Nataputta (Nata or Natiputta being an epithet of the last prophet of the Jainas, Vardhamana Mahavira), and they name the place of the latter's death Pava, in agreement with Jaina tradition. On the other hand, the canonical books of the Jainas mention as contemporaries of Mahavira the same kings as reigned during Buddha's career, and one of the latter's rivals. Thus it is established that Mahavira was a contemporary of Buddha, and

[4] The Sankhyas endeavour to explain, from their dualistic principles, *purusa* and *prakrti*, the development of the material world as well as that of living beings ; the Jainas, however, are almost exclusively concerned with the latter, and declare that the cause of the material world and of the structure of the universe is *lokasthiti*, 'primeval disposition' (*Tattvarthadhigama Sutra*, iii, 6 com.). *Sankhya*, probably based on cosmogonic theories contained in the *Upanisads*, was intended as a philosophic system which in the course of time became the theoretical foundation of popular religion. But Jainism was, in the first place, a religion, and developed a philosophy of its own in order to make this religion, a self-consistent system.

[5] e.g., the *Sankhya* principle *mahan* means *mahan atma* ; the three *gunas* are suggested by the *trivrtkarana* of *Chandogya Upanisad*, vi, 3 f. ; and *prakrti* by the cosmical *Brahma* of the earlier *Upanisad* doctrine, wherefore in the *Gaudapada Bhasya* on *Karika* 22 *Brahma* is given as a synonym of *prakrti*, etc.

[6] The fundamental theories of Jainism, e.g., the *syadvada*, their division of living beings, especially the elementary lives, are not found in Buddhism.

[7] See *SBE*, xlv (1895), Introd., pp. xviii ff.

probably somewhat older than the latter, who outlived his rival's decease at Pava.

Mahavira, however, unlike Buddha, was most probably not the founder of the sect which reveres him as their prophet, nor the author of their religion. According to the unanimous Buddhist tradition, Buddha had, under the Bodhi-tree, discovered by intuition the fundamental truths of his religion as it appears throughout his personal work ; his first sermons are things ever to be remembered by his followers, as are the doctrines which he then preached. No such traditions are preserved in the canonical books of the Jainas about Mahavira. His becoming a monk, and, some 12 years later, his attainment of omniscience (*kevala*), are, of course, celebrated events. But tradition is silent about his motives for renouncing the world, and about the particular truths whose discovery led to his exalted position. At any rate, Mahavira is not described by tradition as having first become a disciple of teachers whose doctrines afterwards failed to satisfy him, as we are told of Buddha ; he seems to have had no misgivings, and to have known where truth was to be had,[8] and thus he became a Jaina monk. And again, when, after many years of austerities such as are practised by other ascetics of the Jainas, he reached omniscience, we are not given to understand that he found any new truth, or a new revelation, as Buddha is said to have received ; nor is any particular doctrine or philosophical principle mentioned, the knowledge and insight of which then occured to him for the first time. But he is represented as gaining, at his *kevala*, perfect knowledge of what he knew before only in part and imperfectly. Thus Mahavira appears in the tradition of his own sect as one who, from the beginning, had followed a religion established long ago ; had he been more, had he been the founder of Jainism, tradition, ever eager to extol a prophet, would not have totally repressed his claims to reverence as such. Nor do Buddhistic traditions indicate that the Niganthas owed their origin to Nataputta ; they simply speak of them as of a sect existing at the time of Buddha. We cannot, therefore, without doing violation to tradition, decalare Mahavira to have been the founder of Jainism. But he is with-

8 A.F.R. Hoernle, *Uvasagadasao*, tr., p. 5 f., note (Calcutta, 1890), says that Mahavira, having been born in Kollaga, "naturally, when he assumed the monk's vocation, retired (as related in *Kalpa Sutra* 115 f.) to the *ceiya* of his own clan, called Duipalasa and situated in the neighbourhood of Kollaga. Mahavira's parents (and with them probably their whole clan of Naya Ksatriyas) are said to have been followers of the tenets of Parsvanatha (see *Ayaranga*, ii, 15, 16). As such they would no doubt, keep up a religious establishment (*ceiya*) for the accomodation of Parsva, on his periodical visits, with his disciples, to Kundapura or Vesali. Mahavira, on renouncing the world, would probably first join Parsva's sect, in which, however, he soon became a reformer and chief himself."

out doubt the last prophet of the Jainas, the last Tirthakara. His predecessor, Parsva, the last Tirthakara but one, seems to have better claims to the title of founder of Jainism. His death is placed at the reasonable interval of 250 years before that of Mahavira, while Parsva's predecessor Aristanemi is said to have died 84,000 years before Mahavira's *Nirvāṇa*. Followers of Parsva are mentioned in the canonical books ; and a legend in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, xxiii, relates, a meeting between a disciple of Parsva and a disciple of Mahavira which brought about the union of the old branch of the Jaina church and the new one.[9] This seems to indicate that Parsva was a historical person ; but in the absence of historical documents we cannot venture to go beyond a conjecture.

2. *Jaina view of their Origin, etc.*

According to the belief of the Jainas themselves, Jaina religion is eternal, and it has been revealed again and again, in every one of the endless succeeding periods of the world, by innumerable Tirthakaras. In the present *avasarpiṇī* period the first Tirthakara was Rsabha, and the last, the 24th, was Vardhamana. The names, signs, and colours of the 24 Tirthakaras were as follows :

(1) Rsabha (or Vrsabha), bull, golden ; (2) Ajita, elephant, golden; (3) Sambhava, horse, golden ; (4) Abhinandana, ape, golden ; (5) Sumati, heron, golden ; (6) Padmaprabha, lotus-flower, red ; (7) Suparsva, the *svastika*, golden ; (8) Candraprabha, moon, white ; (9) Suvidhi (or Puspadanta), dolphin, white ; (10) Sitala, the *śrīvatsa*, golden ; (11) Sreyamsa (or Sreyan), rhinoceros, golden ; (12) Vasupujya, buffalo, red ; (13) Vimala, hog, golden ; (14) Ananta (or Anantajita), falcon, golden ; (15) Dharma, thunderbolt, golden ; (16) Santi, antelope, golden ; (17) Kunthu, goat, golden ; (18) Ara, the *nandyāvarta*, golden ; (19) Malli, jar, blue ; (20) Suvrata (or Munisuvrata), tortoise, black ; (21) Nami, blue lotus, golden ; (22) Nemi (or Aristanemi), conch shell, black ; (23) Parsva, snake, blue ; (24) Vardhamana, lion, golden. All Tirthakaras were Ksatriyas ; Munisurvrata and Nemi belonged to the Harivamsa, the remaining 22 to the Iksvaku race. Malli was a woman, according to the Svetambaras ; but this the Digambaras deny, as, according to them, no female can reach liberation. The interval in years between Mahavira and the two last Tirthakaras has been given above. Nami died 500,000 years before Nemi ; Munisuvrata 1,100,000 years before Nami ; the next intervals are 6,500,000, 10,000,000, or a *krore ;* the following intervals cannot be

[9] *SBE*, xlv, Introd., p. xxi f.

expressed in definite numbers of years, but are given in *palyopamas* and *sāgaropamas*, the last interval being one *krore* of *krores* of *sāgaropamas*. The length of the life and the height of the Tirthakaras are in proportion to the length of the interval.[10] These particulars are here given according to the Svetambaras.

In connexion with these items of the mythological history of the Jainas, it may be added that they relate the legends of 12 universal monarchs (Cakravartins), of 9 Vasudevas, 9 Baladevas, and 9 Prativasudevas who lived within the period from the first to the 22nd Tirthakara. Together with the 24 Tirthakaras they are the 63 great personages of Jaina history ; the legends of their lives form the subject of a great epic work by Hemacandra—the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, which is based on older sources, probably the *Vāsudevahiṇḍī* (edited in Bhavnagar, 1906-09, by the Jaina Dharma Prasaraka Sabha).

All Tirthakaras have reached *Nirvāṇa* at their death. Though, being released from the world, they neither care for nor have any influence on worldly affairs, they have nevertheless become the object of worship and are regarded as the 'gods' (*deva*) by the Jainas,[11] temples are erected to them where their idols are worshipped.[12] The favourite Tirthakaras are the first and the three last ones, but temples of the remaining ones are also met with. The worship of the idols of the Tirthakaras is already mentioned in some canonical books, but no rules for their worship are given ;[13] it was, however, already in full sway in the first century of our era, as evidenced by the *Paumacariya*, the oldest Prakrit *kāvya* of the Jainas, and by the statues of Tirthakaras found in ancient sites—e.g , in the Kankali mound at Mathura which belongs to this period.[14] Some sects, especially, a rather recent section of the Svetambaras, the Dhundhia or Sthanakavasins, reject this kind of worship altogether.[15]

[10] See the articles, 'Ages of the World' (Indian), *ERE*, i, pp. 200 f.

[11] See the article 'Atheism' (Jaina), *ERE*, ii, pp. 186 f.

[12] For images and idols of the Jainas see J. Burgess, 'Digambara Jaina Iconography', *IA*, xxxii (1903), 459 ff. ; G. Buehler, 'Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura' in *Epigraphia Indica*, ii (1894), 311 ff. ; J. Fergusson and J. Burgess *Cave Temples*, London, 1880, pp. 487 ff.

[13] Some kind of worship, however, seems to be implied form the oldest times by the mention of the various *ceiya* (*caitya*), or shrines, in the sacred books. These shrines were situated in gardens in which Mahavira resided during his visits to the towns to which they belonged. Cf. Hoernle, *Uvasagadasao*, tr., p. 2, note 4.

[14] *Epigr. Ind.*, ii, 311 f.

[15] See 'Notes on the non-Idolatrous Svetambara Jainas', by 'Seeker', 1911 ; and Margaret Stevenson, '*Notes on Modern Jainism*', pp. 13 f.

It goes without saying that the Tirthakaras, except the two last, belong to mythology rather than to history ; the 22nd, Aristanemi, is connected with the legend of Krsna as his relative. But the details of Mahavira's life as related in the canonical books may be regarded on the whole as historical facts.

He was a Ksatriya of the Jnata clan and a native of Kundagrama, a suburb of the town Vaisali (the modern Basarh, some 27 miles north of Patna).[16] He was the second son of the Ksatriya Siddhartha and Trisala, a highly connected lady. The Svetambaras maintain, and thus it is stated in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, the *Kalpa Sūtra*, etc., that the soul of the Tirthakara first descended into the womb of the Brahmani Devananda, and was, by the order of Indra, removed thence to the womb of Trisala.[17] But the Digambaras reject this story. His parents, who were pious Jainas and worshippers of Parsva, gave him the name Vardhamana (Vira or Mahavira is an epithet used as a name ; Arhat, Bhagavat, Jina, etc., are titles common to all Tirthakaras). He married Yasoda and by her had a daughter Anojja. His parents died when he was 30 years old, and his elder brother Nandivardhana succeeded his father in whatever position he had held. With the permission of his brother and the other authorities, he carried out a long cherished resolve and became a monk with the usual Jaina rites. Then followed 12 years of self-mortification ; Mahavira wandered about as mendicant friar, bearing all kinds of hardships ; after the first 13 months he even discarded clothes. At the end of this period dedicated to meditation, he reached the state of omniscience (*Kevala*), corresponding to the *Bodhi* of the Buddhists. He lived for 42 years more, preaching the law and instructing his 11 disciples (*Gaṇadhara*) : Indrabhuti, Agnibhuti Vayubhuti, Arya Vyakta, Arya Sudharman, Manditaputra, Mauryaputra, Akampita, Acalabhrata, Metarya and Prabhasa. In the 72nd year of his life he died at Pava, and reached *Nirvāṇa*. This event took place, as stated above, some years before Buddha's death, and may, therefore, be placed about 480 B.C. The Svetambaras, however, place the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahavira, which is the initial point of their era, 470 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era, or in 527 B.C.[18] The Digambaras place the same event 18 years later.

16 Kundaggama and Vaniyaggama, both suburbs of Vesali, have been identified by Hoernle (*loc. cit.*, p. 4, note 8) with the modern villages Baniya and Basukund.

17 Cf. the transfer of the embryo of Baladeva from the womb of Rohini to that of Devaki, whence he got the name Samkarsanā, still retaining the metronymic Rauhineya.

18 In the Preface to his ed. of the *Parisista Parvan* (*Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta, 1891), p. 4 ff., the present writer criticises the Svetambara tradition, and, by combining the Jaina date of Candragupta's accession to the throne in 155 after the *Nirvana* with the historical date of the same event in 321 or 322 B.C., arrives at 476 or 477 B. C. as the probable date of Mahavira's *Nirvana*.

3. *Canonical Literature of the Svetambaras*

The canonical books of the Svetambaras (the Digambaras do not admit them to be genuine) are not works by Mahavira himself, but some of them claim to be discourses delivered by him to Indrabhuti, the Gautama, which his disciple, the Ganadhara Sudharman, related to his own disciple Jambusvamin.

Before entering on details about the existing canon, it must be stated that, according to the Jainas, there were originally, since the time of the first Tirthakara, two kinds of sacred books, the 14 *Pūrvas* and the 11 *Aṅgas* ; the 14 *Pūrvas* were, however, reckoned to make up a 12th *Aṅga* under the name of *Dṛṣṭivāda.* The knowledge of the 14 *Pūrvas* continued only down to Sthulabhadra, the 8th patriarch after Mahavira ; the next 7 patriarchs down to Vajra knew only 10 *Pūrvas*, and after that time the remaining *Pūrvas* were gradually lost, until, at the time when the canon was written down in books (980 A.V.), all the *Pūrvas* had disappeared, and consequently the 12th *Aṅga* too. Such is the Svetambara tradition regarding the *Pūrvas* ; that of the Digambaras is similar as regards the final loss of the *Pūrvas*, differing, however, in most details ; but they contend that the *Aṅgas* also were lost after 9 more generations.[19]

The 11 *Aṅgas* are the oldest part of the canon (*Siddhānta*), which at present embraces 45 texts. Besides the 11 *Aṅgas*, there are 12 *Upāṅgas*, 10 *paiṇṇas* (*prakīrṇas*), 6 *chedasūtras*, *Nandī* and *Anuyogadvāra* and 4 *Mūlasūtras*. A list of these texts according to the usual enumeration follows :[20]

(1) 11 *Aṅgas* : *Ācāra*, *Sūtrakṛta*, *Sthāna*, *Samavāya*, *Bhagavatī*, *Jñātādharmakathās*, *Upāsakadaśās*, *Antakrddaśās*, *Anuttaropapātikadaśās*, *Praśnavyākaraṇāni*, *Vipāka*, (*Dṛṣṭivāda*, no longer extant) ; (2) 12 *Upāṅgas* : *Aupapātika*, *Rājapraśnīya*, *Jīvābhigama*, *Prajñāpanā*, *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, *Candraprajñapti*, *Sūryaprajñapti*, *Nirayāvalī* (or Kalpika), *Kalpāvatamsikā*, *Puṣpikā*, *Puṣpacūlikā*, *Vṛṣṇidaśās* ; (3) 10 *Paiṇṇas* (*prakīrṇas*) : *Catuhśaraṇa*, *Samstāra*, *Āturapratyākhyāna*, *Bhaktaparijñā*, *Taṇḍulavaikālika*, *Candāvijā*, *Devendrastava*, *Gaṇivijā*, *Mahāpratyākhyāna*, *Vīrastava* ; (4) 6 *Chedasūtras* : *Niśītha*, *Mahāniśītha*, *Vyavahāra*, *Daśasrutaskandha*, *Bṛhatkalpa*, *Pañcakalpa* ; (5)

19 For details see A. A. Guerinot, *Repertoire d'epigraphie Jaina*, Paris, 1908, p. 36.

20 For details see Weber, *Sacred Literature of the Jainas*, which first appeared (in German) in *Indische Studien*, xvi (1883), and xvii (1885), and was translated in *IA*, xvii (1888) - xxi (1892).

2 *Sūtras* without a common name : *Nandi* and *Anuyogadvāra* ; (6) 4 *Mūlasūtras* : *Uttarādhyayana, Āvaśyaka, Daśavaikālika* and *Piṇḍaniryukti.* Most of the canonical books have been edited in India, some with commentaries. English translations have been published of the *Ācārāṅga, Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Upasakadaśās, Antakṛddaśās, Anuttaropapātikadaśās, Uttarādhyayana* and two *Kalpasūtras.*

The redaction of the canon took place under Devarddhi Gani in 980 after the *Nirvāṇa* (A.D. 454, according to the common reckoning, actually perhaps 60 years later) ; before that time the sacred texts were handed down without embodying them in written books. In the interval between the composition and the final redaction of the texts and even afterwards, they have undergone many alterations—transposition of parts, additions, etc.—traces of which can still be pointed out.[21] Along with these alterations there seems to have gone on a gradual change of the language in which the texts were composed. The original language, according to the Jainas, was Ardhamagadhi, and they give that name, or Magadhi, to the language of the present texts. But it has, most probably, been modernised during the process of oral transmission. The older parts of the canon contain many archaic forms for which in later texts distinct Maharastri idioms are substituted. It will be best to call the language of the sacred texts simply Jaina Prakrit, and that of later works Jaina Maharastri.

As the works belonging to the canon are of different origin and age, they differ greatly in character. Some are chiefly in prose, some in verse and some in mixed prose and verse. Frequently a work comprises distinctly disparate parts put together when the redaction of the canon took place. The older prose works are generally very diffuse and contain endless repetitions ; some, however, contain succinct rules, some, besides lengthy descriptions, systematic expositions of various dogmatic questions ; in others, again, the systematic tendency prevails throughout. A large literature of glosses and commentaries has grown up round the more important texts.[22] Besides the sacred literature and the commentaries belonging to it, the Jainas possess separate works, in close material agreement with the former, which contain systematic expositions of their faith, or parts of it, in Prakrit and Sanskrit. These works, which generally possess the advantage of accuracy and clearness have in their turn become the object of learned labours of commentators. One of the oldest is Umasvati's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, a Svetambara work,

[21] See Weber, *loc. cit.*, 8.

[22] The development of this commenting literature has been studied by E. Leumann, *ZDMG*, xlvi (1892), 585 ff.

which, is also claimed by the Digambaras.[23] A sort of encyclopaedia of Jainism is the *Lokaprakāśa*[24] by Tejapala's son, Vinayavijaya (1652). On these and similar works our sketch of the Jaina faith is chiefly based.

It may here be mentioned that the Jainas also possess a secular literature of their own, in poetry and prose, both Sanskrit and Prakrit. Of peculiar interest are the numerous tales in Prakrit and Sanskrit with which authors used to illustrate dogmatical or moral problems. They have also attempted more extensive narratives, some in a more popular style, as Haribhadra's *Samarāiccakahā*, and Siddharsi's great allegorical work *Upamitibhavaprapañca Kathā* (both edited in *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta, 1901-14), some in highly artificial Sanskrit, as Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka* and Dhanapala's *Tilakamañjarī* (both published in the *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay, 1901-03, 1903). Their oldest Prakrit poem (perhaps of the 3rd cent. A.D.), the *Paumacariya*, is a Jaina version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Sanskrit poems, both in *purāṇa* and in *kāvya* style, and hymns in Prakrit and Sanskrit, are very numerous with the Svetambaras as well as the Digambaras ; there are likewise some Jaina dramas. Jaina authors have also contributed many works, original treatises as well as commentaries, to the scientific literature of India in its various branches—grammar, lexicography, metrics, poetics, philosophy, etc.[25]

4. *The Doctrines of Jainism*

Jaina doctrines may be broadly divided into (i) philosophical and (ii) practical. Jaina philosophy contains ontology, metaphysics, and psychology. The practical doctrines are concerned with ethics and asceticism, monasticism, and the life of the laity.

i. (a) Philosophy.—The *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads* had maintained or were believed to maintain that Being is one, permanent, without beginning, change, or end. In opposition to this view, the Jainas declare that Being is not of a persistent and unalterable nature : Being, they say, 'is joined to production, continuation, and destruction'.[26] This theory, they call the theory of the 'Indefiniteness of Being' (*anekāntavāda*) ; it comes to this : existing things are permanent only as regards their

[23] The Skr. text with a German tr. and explanation has been published by the present writer in *ZDMG*, lx (1906), 287 ff., text and *bhasya* are contained in the *Bibl. Ind.* edition (Calcutta, 1905).

[24] Edited by Hiralala Hamsaraja, 3 vols., Jamnagar, 1910.

[25] Cf. art. 'Hemacandra', *ERE*, vol. vi, p. 591.

[26] See H. Jacobi, 'The Metaphysics and Ethics of the Jainas', in *Trans. of the Congress for the Hist. of Religion*, Oxford, 1908, ii, 60.

substance. But their accidents or qualities originate and perish. To explain : any material thing continues for ever to exist as matter ; this matter, however, may assume any shape and quality. Thus, clay as substance may be regarded as permanent, but the form of a jar of clay, or its colour, may come into existence and perish. It is clear that the Brahmanical speculations are concerned with transcendental Being, while the Jaina view deals with Being as given in common experience.

The doctrine of the Indefiniteness of Being is upheld by a very strange dialectical method called *Syādvāda*, to which the Jainas attach so much importance that this name frequently is used as a synonym for the Jaina system itself. According to this doctrine of *Syādvāda*, there are 7 forms of metaphysical propositions, and all contain the word *syāt*, e.g., *syād asti sarvam, syād nāsti sarvam. Syāt* means 'may be', and is explained by *kathamcit*, which in this connexion may be translated 'somehow'. The word *syāt* here qualifies the word *asti*, and indicates the Indefiniteness of Being (or *astitvam*). For example, we say a jar is somehow, i.e., it exists, if we mean thereby that it exists as a jar ; but it does not exist somehow if we mean that it exists as a cloth or the like. The purpose of these seeming truisms is to guard against the assumption of the Vedantins that Being is one without a second, the same in all things. Thus we have the correlative predicates 'is' (*asti*) and 'is not' (*nāsti*). A third predicate is 'inexpressible' (*avaktavya*) ; for existent and non-existnet (*sat* and *asat*) belong to the same thing at the same time, and such a co-existence of mutually contradictory attributes cannot be expressed by any word in the language. The three predicates variously combined make up the 7 propositions, or *sapta bhaṅgas*, or the *Syādvāda*.

Supplementary to the doctrine of the *Syādvāda*, and, in a way, the logical complement to it, is the doctrine of the *nayas*.[27] The *nayas* are ways of expressing the nature of things : all these ways of judgement, according to the Jainas, are one-sided, and they contain but a part of the truth. There are 7 *nayas*, 4 referring to concepts, and 3 to words. The reason for this variety of statement is that Being is not simple, as the Vedantins contend, but is of a complicated nature ; therefore every statement and every denotation of a thing is necessarily incomplete and one-sided ; and, if we follow one way only of expression or of viewing things, we are bound to go astray. Hence it is usual in explaining notions to state what the thing under discussion is with reference to substance, place, time and state of being.

[27] Ib. 61.

(b) Metaphysics.—All things, i.e., substances (*dravya*), are divided into lifeless things (*ajīvakāya*) and lives or souls (*jīva*). The former are again divided into (1) space (*ākāśa*) ; (2) and (3) two subtle substances called *dharma* and *adharma*, and (4) matter (*pudgala*). Space, *dharma*, and *adharma* are the necessary conditions for the substance of all other things, viz., souls and matter; space affords them room to subsist; *dharma* makes it possible for them to move or to be moved ; and *adharma*, to rest. It will be seen that the function of space, as we conceive it, is by the Jainas distributed among three different substances ; this seems highly specultative, and rather hyperlogical. But the conception of the two cosmical substances ; *dharma* and *adharma*, which occur already, in the technical meaning just given in canonical books, seems to be developed from a more primitive notion. For, as their names *dharma* and *adharma* indicate, they seem to have denoted, in primitive speculation, those invisible 'fluids' which by contract cause sin and merit. The Jainas, using for the latter notions the terms *pāpa* and *puṇya*, were free to use the current names of those 'fluids' in a new sense not known to other Indian thinkers.

Space (*ākāśa*) is divided into that part of space which is occupied by the world of things (*lokākāśa*), and the space beyond it (*alokākāśa*), which is absolutely void and empty, an abyss of nothing. *Dharma* and *adharma* are co-extensive with the world ; accordingly no soul nor any particle of matter can get beyond this world for want of the substances of motion and rest. Time is recognized by some as a quasi-substance besides those enumerated.

Matter (*pudgala*) is eternal and consists of atoms ; otherwise it is not determined in its nature, but, as is already implied by the doctrine of the Indefiniteness of Being, it is something that may become anything, as earth, water, fire, wind, etc. Two states of matter are distinguished : gross matter, of which the things which we perceive consists, and subtle matter, which is beyond the reach of our senses. Subtle matter, for instance, is that matter which is transformed into the different kinds of *karma* (see below). All material things are ultimately produced by the combination of atoms. Two atoms form a compound when the one is viscous and the other dry or both are of different degrees either of viscousness or dryness. Such compounds combine with others, and so on. They are, however, not constant in their nature, but are subject to change or development (*pariṇāma*), which consists in the assumption of qualities (*guṇas*). In this way originate also the bodies and senses of living beings. The elements—earth, water, fire, and wind—are bodies of souls in the lowest stage of development, and are, therefore, spoken of as 'earth-bodies' 'water-bodies', etc.

Here we meet with animistic ideas which, in this form, are peculiar to Jainism. They probably go back to a remote period, and must have prevailed in classes of Indian society which were not influenced by the more advanced ideas of the Brahmanas.

Different from matter and material things are the souls (*jīva*, lit. 'lives'). There is an infinite number of souls ; the whole world is literally filled with them. The souls are substances, and as such eternal ; but they are not of a definite size since they contract or expand according to the dimensions of the body in which they are incorporated for the time being. Their characteristic mark is intelligence, which may be obscured by extrinsic causes, but never destroyed.

Souls are of two kinds : mundane (*saṁsārin*), and liberated (*mukta*). Mundane souls are the embodied souls of living beings in the world and still subject to the Cycle of Birth ; liberated souls will be embodied no more ; they have accomplished absolute purity ; they dwell in the state of perfection at the top of the universe, and have no more to do with worldly affairs ; they have reached *nirvāṇa* (*nivṛtti* or *mukti*). Metaphysically the difference between the mundane and the liberated soul consists in this, that the former is entirely filled by subtle matter, as, a bag is filled with sand, while the latter is absolutely pure and free from any material alloy.

The defilement of the soul takes place in the following way. Subtle matter ready to be transformed into *karma* pours into the soul ; this is called 'influx' (*āsrava*). In the usual state of things a soul harbours passions (*kaṣāya*) which act like a viscous substance and retain the subtle matter coming into contact with the soul ; the subtle matter thus caught by the soul enters, as it were, into a chemical combination with it ; this is called the binding (*bandha*) (of *karma*-matter). The subtle matter 'bound' or amalgamated by the soul is transformed into the 8 kinds of *karma*, and forms a kind of subtle body (*kārmaṇaśarīra*) which clings to the soul in all its migrations and future births, and determines the individual state and lot of that particular soul. For, as each particular *karma* has been caused by some action, good, bad, or indifferent, of the individual being in question, so this *karma*, in its turn, produces certain painful, or indifferent conditions and events which the individual in question must undergo. Now, when a particular *karma* has produced its effect in the way described, it (i.e., the particular *karma* matter) is discharged or purged from the soul. This process of 'purging off' is called *nirjarā*. When this process goes on without interruption, all *karma*-matter will, in the end, be discharged from the soul ; and the

latter, now freed from the weight which had kept it down before the time of its liberation (for matter is heavy, and *karma* is material), goes up in a straight line to the top of the universe where the liberated souls dwell. But in the usual course of things the purging and binding processes go on simultaneously, and thereby the soul is forced to continue its mundane existence. After the death of an individual, this soul, together with its *kārmaṇaśarīra*, goes, in a few moments, to the place of its new birth and there assumes a new body, expanding or contracting in accordance with the dimensions of the latter.

Embodied souls are living beings, the classification of which is a subject not only of theoretical but also of great practical interest to the Jainas. As their highest duty (*parama dharma*) is not to kill any living beings (*ahimsā*), it becomes incumbent on them to know the various forms which life may assume. The Jainas divide living beings according to the number of sense-organs which they possess : the highest (*pañcendriya*) possess all five organs, viz., those of touch, taste, smell, sight, and hearing, while the lowest (*ekendriya*) have only the organ of touch, and the remaining classes each one organ more than the preceding one in the order of organs given above; e.g., worms, etc., possess the organs of touch and taste ; ants, etc. possess, in addition, smell ; bees, etc., seeing ; the vertebrates possess all five organs of sense ; the higher animals, men, denizens of hell, and gods possess an internal organ or mind (*manas*), and are therefore called rational (*sañjin*), while the lower animals have no mind (*asañjin*). The notions of the Jainas about beings with only one organ are, in part, peculiar to themselves and call for a more detailed notice.

It has already been stated that the four elements are animated by souls ; i.e., particles of earth, etc., are the body of souls, called earth-lives, etc. These we may call elementary lives ; they live and die and are born again, in the same or another elementary body. These elementary lives are either gross or subtle ; in the latter case they are invisible. The last class of one-organed lives are plants ; of some plants each is the body of one soul only, but of other plants each is an aggregation of embodied souls which have all functions of life, as respiration and nutrition, in common. That plants possess souls is an opinion shared by other Indian philosophers. But the Jainas have developed this theory in a remarkable way. Plants in which only one soul is embodied are always gross ; they exist in the habitable part of the world only. But those plants of which each is a colony of plant-lives may also be subtle, i.e., invisible, and in that case they are distributed all over the world. These subtle plants are called *nigoda* ; they are composed of an infinite number

of souls forming a very small cluster, have respiration and nutrition in common, and experience the most exquisite pains. Innumerable *nigodas* form a globule, and with them the whole space of the world is closely packed, like a box filled with powder. The *nigodas* furnish the supply of souls in place of those who have reached *nirvāṇa*. But an infinitesimally small fraction of one single *nigoda* has sufficed to replace the vacancy caused in the world by the *nirvāṇa* of all the souls that have been liberated from the beginningless past down to the present. Thus it is evident that the *samsāra* will never be empty of living beings (see *Lokaprakāśa*, vi, 31 ff.).

From another point of view mundane beings are divided into four grades : denizens of hell, animals, men, and gods ; these are the four walks of life (*gati*), in which beings are born according to their merits or demerits.[28]

We have seen the cause of the soul's embodiment is the presence in it of *karma*-matter. The theory of *karma* is the key-stone of the Jaina system ; it is necessary, therefore, to explain this theory in more detail. The natural qualities of soul are perfect knowledge (*jñāna*), intuition or faith (*darśana*), highest bliss, and all sorts of perfections ; but these inborn qualities of the soul are weakened or obscured, in mundane souls, by the presence of *karma*. From this point of view the division of *karma* will be understood. When *karma*-matter has penetrated the soul, it is transformed into 8 kinds (*prakṛti*) or *karma* singly or severally, which form the *kārmaṇa śarīra* just as food is, by digestion, transformed into the various fluids necessary for the support and growth of the body. The 8 kinds of *karma* are as follows :

(1) *Jñānāvaraṇīya*, that which obscures the inborn right knowledge (i.e., omniscience) of the soul and thereby produces different degrees

[28] The Jainas recognize 5 bodies which an individual may possess (though not all simultaneously), one gross and 4 subtle ones. Besides the *karmanasarira*, which is the receptacle of *karma* and has no bodily functions, there are (1) the transmutation body (*Vaikriyasarira*), producing the wonderful appearances which gods, magicians, etc., may assume ; (2) the translocation body (*aharakasarira*), which certain sages may assume for a short time in order to consult a Tirthakara at some distance ; (3) the igneous body (*taijasasarira*), which in common beings causes the digestion of food, but in persons of merit gives effect to their curses (that they burn their objects) and to their benedictions (that they gladden as the rays of the moon), etc. This doctrine of the subtle bodies, in which, however, many details are subject to controversy, seems to be the outcome of very primitive ideas about magic, etc. which the Jainas attempted to reduce to a rational theory. With the terms *vaikriya* and *taijasasarira* may be compared the *vaikarika* and *taijasa ahamkara* of the Sankhyas.

of knowledge and of ignorance;[29] (2) *darśanāvaraṇīya*, that which obscures right intuition, e.g., sleep ; (3) *vedanīya*, that which obscures the bliss-nature of the soul and thereby produces pleasure and pain ; (4) *mohanīya*, that which disturbs the right attitude of the soul with regard to faith, conduct, passions, and other emotions, and produces doubt, error, right or wrong conduct, passions and various mental states. The following 4 kinds of *karma* concern more the individual status of a being; (5) *āyuṣka*, that which determines the length of life of an individual in one birth as hell-being, animal, man, or god ; (6) *nāma*, that which produces the various circumstances of elements which collectively make up an individual existence, e.g., the peculiar body with its general and special qualities, faculties, etc. ; (7) *gotra*, that which determines the nationality, caste, family social standing, etc., of an individual ; (8) *antarāya*, that which obstructs the inborn energy of the soul and thereby prevents the doing of a good action when there is a desire to do it.

Each kind of *karma* has its predestined limits in time within which it must take effect and thereby be purged off. Before we deal with the operation of *karma*, however, we must mention another doctrine which is connected with the *karma* theory, viz., that of the six *leśyās*. The totality of *karma* amalgamated by a soul induces on it a transcendental colour, a kind of complexion, which cannot be perceived by our eyes ; and this is called *leśyā*. There are six *leśyās* : black, blue, grey, yellow, red, and white. They have also, and prominently, a moral bearing ; for the *leśyā* indicates the character of the individual who owns it. The first three belong to bad characters, the last three to good characters.[30]

The individual state of the soul is produced by its inborn nature and *karma* with which it is vitiated ; this is the developmental or *pāriṇāmika* state. But there are 4 other states which have reference only to the behaviour of the *karma*. In the common course of things *karma* takes effect and produces its proper results ; then the soul is in the *audayika* state. By proper efforts *karma* may be prevented, for some time, from taking effect ; it is neutralized (*upaśamita*), but it is still present, just like fire covered by ashes then the soul is in the *aupaśamika* state. When *karma* is not only prevented from operating, but is annihilated altogether (*kṣapita*), then the soul is in the *kṣayika* state,

[29] For details, see *ERE*, the art. 'Demons and Spirits' (Jaina), vol. iv, pp. 608 ff ; 'Cosmogony and Cosmology' (Indian), 4, vol. p. 160 f. and 'Ages of the World' (Indian), vol. i., p. 200.

[30] The Jainas acknowledge five kinds of knowledge : (1) ordinary cognition (*mati*), (2) testimony (*sruta*), (3) supernatural cognition (*avadhi*) (4) direct knowledge of the thoughts of others (*manahparyaya*), (5) omniscience (*kevala*).

which is necessary for reaching *nirvāṇa*. There is a fourth state of the soul, *kṣayopaśamika*, which partakes of the nature of the preceding ones ; in this state some *karma* is annihilated some is neutralized, and some is active. This is the state of ordinary good men, but the *kṣayika* and *aupaśamika* states belong to holy men, especially the former. It will be easily understood that these distinctions have an important moral bearing ; they are constantly referred to in the practical ethics of the Jainas.

We shall now consider the application of the *karma*-theory to ethics. The highest goal is to get rid of all *karma* (*nirjarā*) and meanwhile to acquire no new *karma*—technically speaking, to stop the influx (*āsrava*) of *karma*, which is called *samvara*, or the covering of the channels through which *karma* finds entrance into the soul. All actions produce *karma*, and in the majority of cases entail on the doer continuance of worldly existence (*sāmparāyika*) ; but, when a man is free from passions and acts in strict compliance with the rules of right conduct, his actions produce *karma* which lasts but for a moment and is then annihilated (*iryāpatha*). Therefore the whole apparatus of monastic conduct is required to prevent the formation of new *karma* ; the same purpose is served by austerities (*tapas*), which, moreover, annihilate the old *karma* more speedily than would happen in the common course of things.

It is evident from the preceding remarks that the ethics and asceticism of the Jainas are to be regarded as the logical consequence of the theory of *karma*. But from a historical point of view many of their ethical principles, monastic institutions, and ascetic practices have been inherited from older religious classes of Indian society, since Brahmanical ascetics and Buddhists resemble them in many of their precepts and institutions (see *SBE*, xxii, 1884, Introd., p. xxii ff.).

ii. Jaina ethics has for its end the realization of *nirvāṇa*, or *mokṣa*. The necessary condition for reaching this end is the possession of right faith, right knowledge, and right conduct. These three excellences are metaphorically named the 'three jewels' (*triratna*), an expression used also by the Buddhist, but in a different sense ; they are not produced, but they are manifested on the removal of obstructing or obscuring species of *karma*. To effect this, the rules of conduct must be observed and corresponding virtues must be acquired. Of first importance are the five vows, the first four of which are also acknowledged by Brahmanas and Buddhists. The five vows (*vratas*) of the Jainas are : (1) not to kill ; (2) not to lie ; (3) not to steal ; (4) to abstain from sexual intercourse ; (5) to renouance all interest in worldly things, espacially to keep no property. These vows are to be strictly observed by monks, who take them

on entering the Order, or, as it is commonly expressed, on taking *dīkṣā*. In their case the vows are called the five great vows (*mahāvrata*). Lay people, however, should observe these vows so far as their conditions admit ; the five vows of the lay people are called the small vows (*aṇuvrata*). To explain : not to kill any living beings requires the greatest caution in all actions, considering that nearly everything is believed to be endowed with life. Endless rules have been laid down for monks which aim at preventing the destruction of the life of any living beings whatever. But if a layman were to observe these rules he could not go about his business ; he is, therefore, obliged to refrain only from intentionally killing living beings, be it for food, pleasure, gain or any such purpose. And so it is also with the remaining vows ; their rigour is somewhat abated in the case of laymen. A layman, however, may, for a limited time, follow a more rigorous practice by taking one of the following particular vows or regulations of conduct (*śīlavrata*) : (1) *digvirati* ; he may limit the distance up to which he will go in this or that direction ; (2) *anarthadaṇḍavirati* ; he may abstain from engaging in anything that does not strictly concern him ; (3) *upabhogaparibhoga-parimāṇa* ; he may set a measure to his food, drink, and the things he enjoys, avoiding besides gross enjoyments. (It may be mentioned in passing that certain articles of food, etc., are strictly forbidden to all, monks and laymen alike, e.g., roots, honey, and spirits and likewise no food may be eaten at night.) The preceding three vows are called *guṇavrata* ; the next four are the disciplinary vows (*śikṣāvrata*) : (4) *deśavirati*, reducing the area in which one will move : (5) *sāmāyika*, by this vow the layman undertakes to give up, at stated times, all sinful actions by sitting down motionless and meditating on holy things ; (6) *pauṣadhopavāsa*, to live as a monk on the 8th, 14th, or 15th, or day of the lunar fortnight, at least once a month : (7) *atithisamvibhāga*, lit. to give a share to guests, but it is understood in a less literal sense, viz., to provide the monks with what they want.

Most of these regulations of conduct for laymen are intended apparently to make them participate, in a measure and for some time, in the merits and benefits of monastic life without obliging them to renounce the world altogether. The rules for a voluntary death have a similar end in view. It is evident that the lay part of the community were not regarded as outsiders, or only as friends and patrons of the Order, as seems to have been the case in early Buddhism ; their position was, from the beginning, well defined by religious duties and privileges ; the bond which united them to the Order of monks was an effective one. The state of a layman was one preliminary and, in many cases, preparatory to the state of a monk; in the latter respect, however, a change

seems to have come about, in so far as now and for some time past the Order of monks is recruited chiefly from novices entering it at an early age, not from laymen in general. It cannot be doubted that this close union between laymen and monks brought about by the similarity of their religious duties, differing not in kind, but in degree, has enabled Jainism to avoid fundamental changes within, and to resist dangers from without for more than two thousand years, while Buddhism, being less exacting as regards the laymen, underwent the most extra-ordinary evolutions and finally disappeared in the country of its origin.

Amonk on entering the Order takes the five great vows stated above ; if they are strictly kept, in the spirit of the five times five clauses, or *bhāvanās* (*SBE*, xxii, 202 ff.) no new *karma* can form. But, to practise them effectually, more explicit regulations are required, and these constitute the discipline of the monks.

This discipline is described under seven heads :

(1) Since through the activity of body, speech, and mind, which is technically called *yoga* by the Jainas, *karma*-matter, pours into the soul (*āsrava*) and forms new *karma* as explained above, it is necessary, in order to prevent the *āsrava* (or to effect *samvara*), to regulate those activities by keeping body, speech, and mind in strict control: these are the three *guptis*, (e.g., the *gupti* or guarding of the mind consists in not thinking or desiring anything bad ; having only good thoughts, etc.). (2) Even in those actions which are inseparable from the duties of a monk, he may become guilty of sin by inadvertently transgressing the great vows, (e.g., killing living beings). To avoid such sins he must observe the five *samitis*, i.e., he must be cautious in walking, speaking, collecting alms, taking up or putting down things, and voiding the body ; e.g., a monk should in walking look before him for about six feet of ground to avoid killing or hurting any living being ; he should, for the same reason, inspect and sweep the ground before he puts anything on it ; he should be careful not to eat anything considered to possess life, etc.[31] (3) Passion being the cause of the amalgamation of *karma*-matter with the soul, the monk should acquire virtues. The 4 cardinal vices (*kaṣāya*) are anger, pride, illusion, and greed ; their opposite virtues are forebearance, indulgence, straightforwardness, and purity. Adding to them the following 6 virtues, veracity, restraint, austerities, freedom

[31] The belief in colours of the soul seems to be very old and to go back to the time when expressions like 'a black soul', 'a bright soul', were understood in a literal sense. Traces of a similar belief have also been found elsewere (see *Mahabharta*, xii, 280, 33 f., 291, 4 ff. ; cf. *Yogasutra*, iv, 7).

from attachment to anything, poverty and chastity, we have what is called the tenfold highest law of the monks (*uttama dharma*). (4) Helpful for the realization of the sanctity of which an earnest searcher of the highest good stands in need are the 12 reflexions (*anuprekṣā* or *bhāvanā*) on the transitoriness of all things, on the helplessness of men, on the misery of the world, and similar topics, which form the subject of endless homilies inserted in their works by Jaina authors. (5) Futhermore, it is necessary for a monk, in order to keep in the right path to perfection and to annihilate his *karma*, to bear cheerfully with all that may cause him trouble or annoyance. There are 22 such 'troubles' (*pariṣaha*) which a monk must endure without flinching, as hunger and thirst, cold and heat, all sorts of trying occurrences, illness, ill treatment, emotions, etc.[22] If we consider that the conduct of the monk is regulated with the purpose of denying him every form of comfort and merely keeping him alive, without, however, the risk of hurting any living beings, it may be imagined to what practical consequences the endurance of the *pariṣahas* must lead. (6) Conduct (*cāritra*) consists in control and is of 5 degrees or phases. In the lowest phase all sinful activities are avoided, and the highest leads to the annihilition of all *karma*, preliminary to final liberation. (7) The last item is asceticism or austerities (*tapas*), which not only prevents the forming of new *karma* (*saṃvara*) but also purges off the old (*nirjarā*) provided that it is undertaken in the right way and with right intention ; for there are also the 'austerities of fools' (*bālatapas*) practised by other religious sects, through which temporary merits, such as supernatural powers, birth as a god, etc., can be accomplished but the highest good will never be attained. *Tapas* is, therefore, one of the most important institutions of Jainism. It is divided into (A) external and (B) internal *tapas* ; the former comprises the austerities practised by the Jainas, the latter their spiritual exercises. (A) Among austerities fasting is the most conspicuous ; the Jainas have developed it to a kind of art, and reached a remarkable proficiency in it. The usual way of fasting is to eat only one meal every second, third, fourth day, and so on down to half a year. Another form of fasting is starving oneself to death *maraṇāntikīsaṃlekhanā*. Other kinds of abstinence are distinguished from fasting properly so called ; reduction of the quantity of the daily food ; restrictions as regards the kind of food selected from what one has obtained by begging (for monks and nuns must, of course, beg their daily meal and must not eat what has been specially prepared for them) ; rejection of all attractive food. To the category

[22] See 'Voluntary death or euthanasia' in the art. 'Death and Disposal of the Dead' (Jaina), *ERE*.

of external austerities belong also sitting in secluded spots to meditate there and the postures taken up during meditation. The latter item Jaina ascetics have in common with Brahmanical *Yoga*. (B) Internal austerities embrace all that belongs to spiritual discipline, including contemplation, e.g., confessing and repenting of sins. Transgressions of the rules of conduct are daily expiated by the ceremony of *pratikramaṇa* ; greater sins must be confessed to a superior (*ālocanā*) and repented of. The usual penance in less serious cases is to stand erect in a certain position for a given time (*kāyotsarga*) ; but for graver transgressions the superior prescribes other penances—in the worst cases a new ordination of the guilty monk. Other kinds of internal austerities consist in modest behaviour, in doing services to other members of the Order or laymen, in the duty of studying, in overcoming all temptations. But the most important of all spiritual exercises is contemplation (*dhyāna*). Contemplation consists in the concentration of the mind on one object ; it cannot be persevered in for longer than one *muhūrta* (48 minutes), and is permitted only to persons of a sound constitution. According to the object on which the thoughts are concentrated and the purpose for which this is done, contemplation may be bad or good, and will lead to corresponding results. We are here concerned only with good contemplation, which is either religious (*dharma*), or pure or bright (*śukla*). The former leads to the intuitive cognition of things hidden to common mortals, especially of religious truths. Indeed, it cannot be doubted that the pretended accuracy of information on all sorts of subjects, such as cosmography, astronomy, geography, spiritual processes, etc., which the sacred books and later treatises contain is in great part due to the intuition which the 'religious contemplation' is imagined to produce. Higher than the latter is the 'pure' contemplation, which leads through four stages to final emancipation : first, single objects are meditated upon, then only one object ; then there is the stage when the activities of the body, speech, and mind continue, but only in a subtle form without relapse. At this stage, when the worldly existence rapidly draws towards its end the remaining *karma* may be suddenly consumed by a kind of explosion called *samudghāta*. Then, in the last stage of contemplation, all *karma* being annihilated and all activities having ceased, the soul leaves the body and goes up to the top of the universe, where the liberated souls stay for ever. It must, however, be remarked that 'pure contemplation is not by itself a measns of reaching liberation, but that it is the last link of a long chain of preparatory exertions. Even its first two stages can be realized only by those in whom the passions (*kaṣāya*) are either neutralized or annihilated ; and only kevalins, i.e., those who have already reached omniscience, can enter into the last two stages, which lead directly to liberation. On the other hand, the *nirvāṇa* is necessarily

preceded by 12 years of self-mortification of the flesh,[33] which should be the closing act of a monk's career, though it no longer leads to liberation, for Jambusvamin, the disciple of Mahavira's disciple Sudharman, was the last man who reached *kevala*, or omniscience, and was liberated on his death[34] (64 years after Mahavira's *Nirvāṇa*); accordingly during the rest of the present *Avasarpiṇī* period nobody will be born who reaches *nirvāṇa* in the same existence. Nevertheless these speculations possess a great theoretical interest, because they afford us a deeper insight into the Jaina system.

In this connexion we must notice a doctrine to which the Jainas attach much importance, viz., the doctrine of the 14 *guṇasthānas*, i.e, the 14 steps which, by a gradual increase of good qualities and decrease of *karma*, lead from total ignorance and wrong belief to absolute purity of the soul and final liberation.

In the first stage (*mithyādṛṣṭi*) are all beings from the *nigodas* upwards to those men who do not know or do not believe in the truths revealed by the Tirthakaras ; they are swayed by the two cardinal passions, love and hate (*rāga* and *dveṣa*), and are completely tied down by *karma*. In the following stages, as one advances by degrees in true knowledge, in firmness of belief and in the control and repression of passions, different kinds of *karma* are got rid of and their effects cease, so that the being in question becomes purer and purer in each following stage. In all stages up to the 11th (that of a *upaśāntakaṣāyavitarāga-chadmastha*) a relapse may take place and a man may fall even down to the first stage. But as soon as he has reached the 12th stage, in which the first four kinds of *karma* are annihilated (that of a *kṣiṇakaṣāya-vītarāgachadmastha*), he cannot but pass through the last two stages, in which omniscience is reached ; in the 13th stage (that of a *sayogīkevalin*) the man still belongs to the world, and may continue in it for a long period ; he retains some activities of body, speech, and mind ; but, when all his activities cease, he enters on the last stage (that of an *ayogīkevalin*), which leads immediately to liberation, when the last remnant of *karma* has been annihilated.

A question must now be answered which will present itself to every critical reader, viz., 'Is the *karma*-theory as explained above an original and integral part of the Jaina system ?' Is seems so abstruse and highly artificial that one would readily believe it a later developed metaphysical doctrine which was grafted on an originally religious system based on

[33] See 'Death and Disposal of the Dead' (Jaina), ERE, vol. iv, p. 484.
[34] *Parisista Parvan*, iv, 50 ff.

animistic notions and intent on sparing all living beings ; But such a hypothesis would be in conflict with the fact that this *karma*-theory, if not in all details, certainly in the main outlines, is acknowledged in the oldest parts of the canon and presupposed by many expressions and technical terms occuring in them. Nor can we assume that in this regard the canonical books represent a later dogmatic development for the following reason ; the terms *āsrava*, *samvara*, *nirjarā*, etc., can be understood only on the supposition that *karma* is a kind of subtle matter flowing or pouring into the soul (*āsrava*), that this influx can be stopped or its inlets covered (*samvara*), and that the *karma*-matter received into the soul is consumed or digested, as it were, by it (*nirjarā*). The Jainas understand these terms in their literal meaning and use them in explaining the way of salvation (the *samvara* of the *āsravas* and the *nirjarā* lead to *mokṣa*). Now these terms are as old as Jainism. For the Buddhists have borrowed from it the most significant term *āsrava* ; they use it in very much the same sense as the Jainas, but not in its literal meaning, since they do not regard the *karma* as subtle matter, and deny the existence of a soul into which the *karma* could have an 'influx'. Instead of *samvara* they say *āsavakkhaya* (*āsravakṣaya*), 'destruction of the *āsravas*', and identify it with *magga* (*mārga*, 'path'). It is ovbious that with them *āsrava* has lost its literal meaning, and that, therefore, they must have borrowed this term from a sect where it had retained its original significance, or in other words, from the Jainas. The Buddhists also use the term *samvara*, e.g., *śīlasamvara*, 'restraint under the moral law', and the participle *samvuta*, 'controlled', words which are not used in this sense by Brahmanical writers, and therefore are most probably adopted from Jainism, where in their literal sense they adequately express the idea that they denote. Thus the same argument serves to prove at the same time that the *karma*-theory of the Jainas is an original and integral part of their system, and that Jainism is considerably older than the origin of Buddhism.

5. *Present State of Jainism*

The Jainas, both Svetambaras and Digambaras, number, according to the census of 1901, 1, 334, 140 members, i.e., even less than ½ percent of the whole population of India.[35] On account of their wealth and education the Jainas are of greater importance, however, than might be expected from their number. There are communities of Jainas in most towns all over India. The Digambaras are found chiefly in Southern India, in Mysore and Kannada, but also in the North, in the North-

[35] The small number of Jainas is explained by the fact that Jainism is not a religion of the uncultivated masses, but rather of the upper classes.

Western provinces, Eastern Rajputana, and the Punjab. The headquarters of the Svetambaras are in Gujarat (whence Gujarati has become the common language of the Svetambaras, rather than Hindi) and Western Rajputana, but they are to be found also all over Nothern and Central India. Very much the same distribution of the Jainas as at present seems, from the evidence of the inscriptions, to have prevailed ever since the 4th century.[36] Splendid temples bear testimony to the wealth and zeal of the sect, some of which rank among the architectural wonders of India, as those on the hills of Girnar and Satrunjaya, on Mount Abu, in Ellora, and elsewhere.

The outfit of a monk is restricted to bare necessities, and these he must beg : clothes, a blanket, an alms-bowl, a stick, a broom to sweep the ground, a piece of cloth to cover his mouth when speaking lest insects should enter it. The nuns' outfit is the same except that they have additional clothes. The Digambaras have a similar outfit, but keep no clothes and use peacocks' feathers instead of the broom. The monks shave the head, or remove the hair by plucking it out (*loca*). The latter method of getting rid of the hair is to be preferred and is necessary at particular times ; it is peculiar to the Jainas and is regarded by them as essential rite.

Originally, the monks had to lead a wandering life except during the monsoon, when they stayed in one place ; compare the *vassa* of the Buddhist monks. Thus Mahavira in his wandering stayed for one day only in a village and five days in a town. But this habit has been somewhat changed by the introduction of convents (*upāśraya*), corresponding to the *vihāras* of the Buddhists.

The *upāśrayas* 'are separate buildings erected by each sect for their monks and nuns. An *Upāśraya* is a large bare hall without bath-rooms and cooking places, furnished only with wooden beds'. (M. Stevenson, *Mod. Jainism*, p. 38)

The Svetambaras, as a rule, go only to those places where there are such *upāśrayas* ; and now they stay as long as a week in a village, in a town as long as a month. It is in the *upāśraya* that the monks preach or explain sacred texts to laymen who come to visit them. The daily duties of a monk are rather arduous if conscientiously performed; e.g., he should sleep only three hours of the night. His duties consist in repenting of and expiating sins, meditating, studying, begging alms

[36] See Guerinot, *Reperotoire d'epigraphie Jaina*, P. 24.

(in the afternoon), careful inspection of his clothes and other things for the removal of insects, for cleaning them, etc. (for details see lect. xxvi, of the *Uttarādhyayana Sutra*, *SBE*, xlv, 142 ff.) There are various monastic degrees. First there is the novice (*śaikṣa*), who is not yet ordained. When he or any other man takes the vows (*vratadāna*), he renounces the world (*pravrajyā*) and initiated or takes *dīkṣā*. The most important ceremony at that time is the shaving or pulling out of the hair under a tree. From a common monk he may rise to the rank of a teacher and superior called *upādhyāya*, *ācārya*, *vācaka*, *gaṇin*, etc. according to degrees and occupations.

The religious duties of the laity have, to some extent, been treated above. The ideal of conduct is that of the monk, which a layman, of course, cannot realize, but which he tries to approach by taking upon himself particular vows.[37] But in practical life also, apart from asceticism, the Jainas possess a body of rules composed by monks which lay out a rational course of life for laymen and tend to improve their welfare and moral standard.[38] The monks have also to provide for the religious wants of the laity by explaining sacred texts or religious treatises and delivering sermons ; this is done in the *upāśrayas* where the laymen visit them ; similarly the nuns are visited by, or visit, the lay women. But the most conspicuous habit of the laity is attendance in temples, and worship of the Tirthakaras and the deities associated with them.[39]

We must now advert to a peculiarity of the Jainas which has struck all observers more than any other, viz., their extreme carefulness not to destroy any living being, a principle which is carried out to its very last consequences in monastic life, and has shaped the conduct of the laity in a great measure. No layman will intentionally kill any living being, not even any insect, however troublesome ; he will remove it carefully without hurting it. It goes without saying that the Jainas are strict vegetarians. This principle of not hurting any living being

[37] Mention should be made of the 11 *padimas* (Skr. *Pratima*), or standards of ascetic life, which a layman may take upon himself especially when he intends to end his life by starving (cf. Hoernle, *Uvasagadasao*, tr., p. 45, 12f., *IA* xxxiii (1904), 330.

[38] E. Windisch, *Yogasastra*, Germ. tr., *ZDMG*, xxviii (1874) ; L. Sauli, *Yogabindu*, Ital. tr., *Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana*, xxi (1908) ; Warren, *Jainism*, p. 64 ff.

[39] For a description of the worship of the different sections of the Jainas see Stevenson, *Mod. Jainism*, p. 85 ff. where there is also a short notice of the Jaina festivals and fasts (p. 107 ff. ; cf. also art. 'Festivals and Fasts' (Jaina), *ERE*, vol. v, p. 875 ff.).

bars them from some professions, e.g., agriculture, and 'has thrust them into commerce, and especially into its least elevating branch of money-lending. Most of the money-lending in Western India is in the hands of the Jainas, and this accounts in a great measure both for their unpopularity and for their wealth'.[40] A remarkable institution of the Jainas, due to their tender regard for animal life, is their asylums for old and diseased animals, the *piñjarāpoles*, where they are kept and fed till they die a natural death.

6. *History of Jainism*

The history of the Jaina church, in both the Svetambara and Digambara sections, is chiefly contained in their lists of patriarchs and teachers and in legends concerning them. The oldest list of patriarchs of the Svetambaras is the *Sthavirāvalī* in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, which begins with Mahavira's disciple Sudharman and ends with the 33rd patriarch Sandilya or Skandila. Of most patriarchs only the names and the *gotra* are given ; but there is also an expanded list from the 6th, Bhadrabahu, down to the 14th, Vajrasena, which adds more details, viz., the names of the disciples of each patriarch and of the schools and branches (*gaṇa*, *kula*, and *śākhā* founded by, or orginating with, them. As some of these details are also mentioned in old Jaina inscriptions of the 2nd cent. A.D. found at Mathura,[41] this part at least of the Jaina tradition is proved to be based on historical facts. Further, the more detailed list of patriarchs shows that after the 6th patriarch a great expansion of Jainism took place in the North and N.W. of India.[42] Beyond the details mentioned, we have no historical records about the patriarchs ; but such legends as were known about them down to Vajrasena have been combined in Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭa Parvan* into a kind of continuous narrative.[43] For later times there are lists of teachers (*gurvāvalī*, *pattāvalī*)[44] of separate schools, called *gaccha* which give a summary account from Mahavira down to the founder of the *gaccha* in question,

40 Stevenson, 41.

41 See Buchler, *Epigr. Ind.*, i (1892), 371 ff., 393 ff.

42 It is, however, curious that another tradition states : 'In India after the time of the Nanda kings the law of the Jinas will become scarce (*Paumacariya*, lxxxix, 42). Perhaps this refers more specially to Magadha and the adjoining countries, here, where, under the reign of the Mauryas, Buddhism soon attained the position of a popular religion, and must have become a formidable rival of Jainism.

43 See the contents of the work given in the introduction to the text in the *Bibl. Ind.* edition.

44 The oldest *gurvavali* known is that by Munisundara, A.D. 1410, ed. Benares, 1905.

and then a more detailed one of the line of descent from the latter downward, with some particulars of subsequent heads of the *gaccha* called Sripujya. The number of *gacchas*, which usually differ only in minute details of conduct, is said to amount to 84, of which only 8 are represented in Gujarat, the most important of them being the Kharatara *Gaccha*, which has split into many minor *gacchas*, the *Tapa*, *Ancala*, and others. Separate mention is due to the Upakesa *Gaccha*, whose members are known as the Oswal Jainas ; they are remarkable for beginning their desent, not from Mahavira, but from his predecessor Parsva. These lists of teachers seem, as a rule, to be reliable only in that part which comes after the founder of the school to which they belong ; the preceding period down to about the 9th cent. A.D. is one of great uncertainty : there seems to be a chronological blank of three centuries somewhere.[45]

Records which allude to contemporaneous secular history are scant; such as we have in inscriptions and legends refer to kings who had favoured the Jainas or were believed to have embrached Jainism. The first patron king of the Jainas is said to have been Samprati, grandson of the great emperor Asoka ; but this is very doubtful history. A historical fact of the greatest importance for the history of Jainism was the conversion of Kumarapala, king of Gujarat, by Hemacandra.

Finally, we must mention the schisms (*nihnava*) that have occurred in the Jaina church. According to the Svetambaras, there were eight schisms, of which the first was originated by Mahavira's son-in-law, Jamali ; and eighth, occurring in 609 A.V. or A.D. 83, gave rise to the Digambara sect.[46] But the Digambaras seem to be ignorant of the earlier schisms ; they say that under Bhadrabahu rose the sect of Ardhaphalakas, which in A.D. 80 developed into the Svetambara sect.[47] It is probable that the separation of the sections of the Jaina church took place gradually, an individual development going on in both groups living at a great distance from one another, and that they became aware of their mutual difference about the end of the 1st cent. A.D. But the difference is small in articles of faith (See art. 'Digambara').

The sources for the history of the Digambaras are of a similar kind of those of the Svetambaras, but later in date. The Digambara

[45] A full bibliography of this subject is contained in Guerinot, *Essai de bibliographie Jaina*, p. 59 ff.

[46] See E. Leumann, in *Ind. Studien*, xvii (1885), 91 ff.

[47] See *ZDMG*, xxxviii (1884), 1 ff.

line of patriarchs is quite distinct from that of their rivals, except that they agree in the names of the first patriarch, Jambu, and the 6th, Bhadrabahu, who according to the Digambaras, emigrated at the head of the true monks towards the South. From Bhadrabahu dates the gradual loss of their sacred literature, as stated above. The inscriptions furnish ample materials for a necessarily incomplete history of their ancient schools (*gaṇas*) ; but they do not quite agree in all details with the more modern tradition of the *pattāvalis*. According to the latter, the main church (*mūla-saṅgha*) divided into four *gaṇas*, Nandi, Sena, Simha, and Deva, about the end of the 1st cent. A.D.

Literature—Some of the more important works and treatises have been cited in the art. ; a full bibliography has been given by A. Guerinot, *Essai de bibliographie Jaina*, Paris, 1907, to which the reader is referred for all questions of detail. Of new monographs on the subject (besides the old one by G. Buehler, *Uber die indische secte der Jainas*, Vienna, 1887, tr. J. Burgess, London, 1903) the following will be found useful. Margaret Stevenson, *Notes on Modern Jainism*, Oxford, 1910 ; Herbert Warren, *Jainism, in Western Garb, as a Solution to Life's great Problems*, Madras, 1912 ; H. L. Jhaveri, *The First Principles of the Jain Philosophy*, London, 1910. For translations of some of the principal texts, see H. Jacobi, '*Jaina Sūtras*', *SBE*, xxii, xlv (1884, 1895).

from The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VII, pp. 465-474.

The Place and Importance of Jainism in the Comparative Science of Religions

O. Pertold

The comparative science of religions is a new science, which has been started by the great Sanskrit scholar, Professor Max Mueller. Its roots, however, are already in the English philosophical system, which is called deism, and in the German religious philosophy of the 18th century A.D. But Max Mueller brought a system into it, and developed it into a quite separate branch of human knowledge.[1] After Max Mueller many scholars, especially Oriental scholars, of the continental universities worked further on the new science. The most important of them is C.P. Tiele, late professor at the university of Leyden in Holland, who rebuilt the whole science of religions and created a real foundation of the theoretical investigation of religion.[2] While the comparative science of religions has been studied on the continent as a branch of the Oriental studies, it was conceived as a special science since the very beginning in Great Britain, where two advanced gentlemen have started special institution for promoting this new science, which were the Hibbert lectures in England and the Gifford lectures in Scotland.[3]

The aim of this new science is to get a thorough knowledge of all religions in the world, to classify them, to find out what is the real and essential substance of religion in general, and show what of the so-called

[1] The Comparative Science of Religions has been established by his books *Origin and Growth of Religion* and *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, and further developed in his Gifford lectures, viz. 'Natural Religion', 'Physical Religion', 'Anthropological Religion', and 'Theosophy'. But still more important for the science of religions are his translations of Indian scriptures from Sanskrit into English, and his *Sacred Books of the East*, where most of these translations have been published.

[2] Cornelius P. Tiele (b. 1830 in Leyden, d. 1910). He has given a system of the theory of the science of religions in his Gifford lectures *Elements of the Science of Religion*, 2 vols., Edinbourgh 1827. His further books on the religions, which have been translated into English are : *Outlines of the History of the Religion to the spread of the Universal Religions*, London 1877, *History of the Egyptian Religion*, London 1882, *Western Asia according to the most Recent Discoveries*, London 1893, and *Religon of the Iranian Peoples* (only part 2 translated into English by Mr. Nariman), Bombay 1919.

[3] The first Gifford lecturer has been Max Mueller and his first lecture 'Natural Religion'.

religions is still religion and what is no more a religion, and to fix the moments of the religious development in general. Together with these main efforts, many other questions must be replied to, and many investigations made, in order to facilitate getting to the highest goal.

One of the most important questions is to fix the limits of religions, or plainly said, to ascertain what is still a religion, not only in the ascendant direction, but also in the descendant direction.

In regard to the descendant direction, we are now sure that there is at least in the historical times—no human race without any religion, and it is only to be fixed, which is the lowest one. This task has been already done by an English professor, viz., R. R. Marrett in a most satisfactory manner.[4] According to him the minimum of religion is represented by the ideas of the Australian aborigines which are expressed in the two terms, viz., *tabu* and *manna*.[5] The first of which is an idea of religious discipline in bulk, whilst *manna* is representing the spiritual power and witchcraft together.

Much more difficult is to find out the upper limit of the religious ideas. There are several religions, which claim to be the highest ones. The loftiness and the sublimity of the religious ideas have, however, nothing to do with the limit ; not to say, that it is at all very difficult, if not quite impossible, to decide, which is the highest religion at all. At least it is my opinion, that there are several steps in the religious development, corresponding to the steps in the development of the human culture in general, which must be considered as equivalent. But the limit of religion shows us or should show us, how far the development of religious ideas can proceed, without losing the character of religion at all.

In order to examine the matter we must have a look into the history of religions in general. We do not need to consider the whole of the

[4] In the essay 'Taboo Manna as a Minimum Formula of Religion' in the *Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft*, XII, 1909, pp. 186 ff.

[5] *Tabu* (also written *taboo*) signifies, according to the notions of the Australian Negroites and the inhabitants of the Pacific islands, a condition (habitus) of a thing, which excludes it from the profane use. A tabooed thing is one, which is set in such a state by an accident or a purpose, and the use of which is therefore prohibited, except with some precautions. In most of the cases this state is due to the thing being infected with *manna*, which is recognised by the aborigines as an unknown power, by which are caused such effects, as the primitive man is unable to explain from the natural causes, as far as he knows them. *Manna* as rendering things *tabu* is often used for witchcraft.

historical religions, when searching for the upper limit, but we can content ourselves with a review of those racial religions, which have developed themselves to the highest known religious forms. There are without any doubt two races, which reached this goal in the religious development, and they are the Semitic and the Aryan race. And these two races we must investigate in respect of the religious development a little bit thoroughly, if we try to understand the import of search for the religious limit.

The religious development of the Semitic race starts from Babylonia and had from its very beginning a tendency westwards. And so we find in the historical times, that it is spread over the whole south-western part of Asia, working a huge influence on Egypt and even the southern parts of Europe. And when the vital powers of Babylonia had been exhausted, a new centre of religious culture grew up in Kanan or Palestine. Two religious systems sprang up from this centre, viz., the Jewish and the Christian religion, which both preserved the westward tendency of the old Semitic religion and invaded in due time the whole of Europe, where there were previous to them quite different racial religions, which had reached a rather highly elaborated level. The Jewish religion went in advance of Christianity to Rome, preparing the soil for the high aspirations of the followers of the apostle Paul, who rather gave up the high ideals of his Master, viz., Christ, in order to establish his religion into a mighty worldly power, in which without any doubt Christianity grew up in the course of centuries due to the primeval efforts of its propagator, the apostle Paul.

Wherefrom the Aryan race came, we do not know exactly, but we do not err too much in saying, that the original seat of the Aryans has been elsewhere in the extreme North, either this or that side of the Ural ranges.[6] From that place the migration of the Aryans went in two directions, viz., to the south-east and to the south-west. In the historical times we find the whole Europe inhabited by the Aryans, who expelled therefrom an unknown aboriginal race (or perhaps several races), and established several centres of a rather high culture with developed systems of religion. The south-east stream of the Aryans went to Iran and therefrom to India, driving in front of them several non-Aryan races. They brought with themselves a highly developed

[6] The theory of the original abode of the Aryans being in the extreme North was started by Prof. H. Jacobi and late B. G. Tilak in pursuance of some remarks about the constellations (specially the Pleiads and the Great Bear) in the *Rgveda*. (Cf. B. G. Tilak, *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, Poona, 1903).

religion into the new settlements, which was further developed under the influence of foreign elements subjugated by the conquered races.

In the time when this development proceeded in southern Asia, another new religion arose in the territory of the Semitic race, viz. Islam, which spread to all the directions working a strong influence on the Aryan religions in Iran and India after its violent spread to the east.

The result of these historical events is the present situation of religions in the world. We see Christianity and the Jewish religion spread over the whole world, and Islam at least over the whole old world, all the three being the offsprings of the Semitic race. The Aryan religions disappeared from the world except in the extreme south and east of Asia, and also they have been contaminated by many foreign influences, sometimes of very low type, e.g., in the case of Tibetan Buddhism. And one of these offsprings of the old Aryan religion is also Jainism. In order to recognise its position among the Aryan religions and its standing towards the other developed religions, let us see at first the main features in the development of the Aryan religions and afterwards to draw a parallel, between both the most important types of racial religion, viz., the Semitic and the Aryan.

The original components of the Aryan, or better, Pre-Aryan religion are undoubtedly the emphasizing of the intellectual conception of the world and the worship of nature resulting from it. We can see these components in every Aryan religion more or less developed. To the fullest development of these ideas the Aryan religion reached in India notwithstanding the several foreign influence directing it towards quite different regions. We see already in the oldest hymns of the *Rgveda* an advanced feature of pessimism and formalism which is the very result of the gradation of the intellectual 'moment' in religion. And this feature of the Indian religion rises up to a detrimental height in the religion of the Brahmans, which on account of this becomes an anthropocentric religion from the original theocentric one,[7] with all the disadvantages resulting from it, the most important being the loss

[7] Theocentric religion is one, where the god is recognised as its centre, from which the religion proceeds and to which it returns again. The Anthropocentric religion is one, where man is the centre of the religion, either the man is considered as a superior being than the gods, or at least one, who can reach the superiority by means of his intellectual powers as in the old Brahmanism ; or the god is considered only as a further development of the man up to the utmost perfection, which is not attainable in this world.

of the control of the popular religiosity, which results in the people's attachment to foreign cults and foreign beliefs.

This feature of the Aryan religion is mostly different from the Semitic type, where the real religiosity manifesting itself by devotion and mystical inspiration overgrows all human understanding and leads the believers to the slowly but constant withdrawing from the reality of the world, and turning them towards an unreal and imaginary world of superhuman beings in heaven and hell.

It is not impossible that the Aryan religions have been influenced by this Semitic religious ideas already during the time, when the Aryans have been settled in Iran near to the primeval abodes of the Semitic race, whose influence we can undoubtedly recognise in the old Iranian, i.e., (Persian, Prae-Zarathustrian) religion.

But still greater temptations were set like a trap for the old Aryan religion after the arrival of the Aryans in India. It is certain, that in India several races were settled before the arrival of the Aryans, whose vestiges we recognise in some of the Indian hillmen, e.g., Bhils, Santhals, Todas, etc.

We do not know anything about the religion of these pre-Aryan races in India, but we can reconstruct several features of those religions by studying the popular Indian religions of to-day and the sacred literature of the former times, with the help, however, of comparative ethnography and with the help of the monuments and antiquities which remains from that old period. The result of these studies is, that we must assume at least two types of pre-Aryan religions in India. We do not know whether they have been both animistic or one animistic and the other fetishistic, but we know fairly well, how they manifested themselves. The one type which has been perhaps a fetishistic one by nature menifested itself by exuberant devotion, accompanied by mystical excitement, becoming sometimes a real ecstasy.[8] The other one, surely of an animistic character, was accompanied by strong inclination to asceticism. Under the influence of these two elements the original Aryan religion developed in several sects or rather different religious

[8] Of this kind are most of the demonistic rites and ceremonies, which we can find all over India. The most typical, however, are the demon cults in the Tinnevelly district the sorcery of Paraiyans on the Malabar coast, and the 'devil-dancing' in Ceylon (Cf. Dr. O. Pertold, Der singhallesischke Pilli-Zauber in *Archiv fur Religionswissen schaft*, vol. XVI, Leipzig, 1913.)

systems, in which all these elements, viz., intellectuality, formalism, devotion, *bhakti* and asceticism, appear as indispensable constituent parts. Besides this it is not impossible that some influence of Christianity and Islam worked on the developing of the later sects.

All these are really only preliminary remarks, and a quasi-introduction to the chief object of our thesis. And now let us have a look at Jainism from the European scholarly point of view, which may seem perhaps dry and without much enthusiasm to somebody but which is strictly scientific and without prejudice. Jainism is generally dealt with as an offspring of the religious currents started in India in the 8th century B.C., as an opposition against the Brahmanic formalism, which at those times led often to forms not always worthy to be called religion at all. This opinion is almost general among the European scholars and with some reservations it is accepted even by the Jainas themselves. And just these reservations of which the roots can be traced very far in the tradition have brought me to the idea, that our European opinion of Jainism is a wrong one.

To be better understood, I must set all the opinions together, one after another. The older European opinion is that Mahavira is the founder of the Jaina religion, being himself an older contemporary of Buddha. Some of the scholars even consider Mahavira's religion to be a sect of Buddhism. This opinion already a long time ago proved to be wrong. The current opinion of the present European scholars is, that the Jaina religion had been started already by Parsvanatha, Mahavira being only its reformer. But the Jaina tradition teaches us something quite different. According to it the Jaina religion is eternal and there were several reformers of this religion, who are identical with the twenty-four Tirthankaras. This Jaina tradition is a striking one, and has surely a concrete fact behind itself ; for, I have been satisfied already several times that no Indian tradition is without a background of reality. What is the background of this striking tradition is very difficult to say now, for, it is only now that I have started the investigations on this matter. But one remark in the article of Prof. H. Jacobi (in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* by Hastings) seems to show me the right direction, if not even the solution of the problem itself. Jacobi mentions in this topic that perhaps Jainism took some views from older animistic religions. And this opinion of Jacobi is not unimportant as far as it refers to the Jaina belief, that not only animals, but also plants and even the minerals, have an animated substratum of life '*Jīva*'.

Therefore I am now inclined to believe and I shall try presently to prove it scientifically that Jainism is a very old religion, for a scholar can hardly suppose eternity of any religion, the roots of which reach back to very remote times of the pre-Aryan races in India, which took from the Aryan religion everything, that was the best or at least better than its own ideas, and which had developed itself parallelly alongside of the Brahmanic forms of the Aryan religion. This supposition does not alter anything in my conclusions, which will be the same whether we adhere to the second mentioned opinion or to this my own opinion about Jainism, which I mention only for the purpose of showing my personal point of view in this matter.

Jainism as a religion of the masses can be dealt with only in its final form, viz., after the reform of Mahavira, or better in the present form as it is taught by both the most important schools of Jainas, viz., the Svetambaras and the Digambaras. And only this form can be considered from the point of view of the comparative science of religions, as being the only sure and undisputed aspect of it.

In this form it represents the highest form of the Aryan religion, as the original non-Aryan element was reduced only to faint vestiges. The most important feature of Jainism, is, that it has overcome the Brahmanic scepticism, which was threatening the very roots of religion as well as the pure formalism to which the Brahmanical rites sank at the time just before the reform of Mahavira. And by means of Mahavira's reforms Jainism, although it did not spread as much as Buddhism, was of much greater importance for India than the latter, protecting the Aryan religions in India against the influences from the West, if not directly, yet at least indirectly, calling for a reaction in the different sects.

But the real value of Jainism lies in its inner perfection which appears in the proportionate representation of the religious elements so that none overruns the other. This is the feature, in which all the Indian religions in general, but Jainism in particular, differ from the other religions, specially from the Semitic religions, and among them from the Christian religion in particular. To be better understood I feel obliged to explain it in plain words. Every religion consists mainly of three elements, viz., the sentimental element, the intellectual element, and the practical element. In most of the religions the practical element, which appears in the shape of rites and ceremonies, overgrows the whole religion in such a way, that the other elements become only subordinate

addition, the sentimental element being still a favourite. The cultivation of the intellectual element is the special feature of the Aryan religions. But only in Jainism all these elements are well balanced, whilst in the old Brahmanism and in Buddhism the cultivation of the intellectual element is often exaggerated.

In order to fix the position of Jainism in relation to other religions, we must look now a little into the inside of Jainism. As it is not possible to explain in a short space the whole system of Jainism—and I think it would be useless to do it, I want to call special attention only to such facts in it as are really prominent for the fixing of its position in the rank of religions and which are giving to Jainism a particular importance in the comparative science of religions.

In the first place of importance there is its dogmatical view of god. In this respect Jainism is an anthropocentric religion. It is true that already the Vedic and the Brahmanic religions have been anthropocentric, but in a quite different way. The anthropocentricism of these religions has been only formal, as they recognised gods as beings of a superhuman origin, and only subjected to their rites by their own speculation and cunning.[9] But the real anthropocentricism we find only in Jainism and Buddhism, although the latter deviated too much from its original ideas about this dogmatical problem.[10] And besides, the original Buddhism went rather further on this point, and we are not yet quite sure, whether it did not deny God originally at all.[11]

The Jaina view of God is a very natural one for a thinking being. The God according to the Jainas is Paramatman, but not Isvara, i.e., the God is not a creator and ruler, but he is a perfect being, who cannot be set back to the imperfect condition of this world, and as such is worshipful. I can compare the Jaina idea of God only with the concep-

[9] It was specially due to the Brahmanic doctrine that the prayer must be obeyed by the god, if it is only done perfectly well, without any mistake, as prescribed by the Holy Books.

[10] It was due specially to the fact that Buddhism originally did not recognise the householders as the real followers of Buddha, but only as the friends and helpers of the movement, who may gain some merit by supporting the real followers of the Buddha, the *bhiksus*. They have been really left, at their discretion, in the lap of other religions the influence of which worked rather badly on the developing of the original Buddhist ideas, specially the idea of God.

[11] This is connected with the Buddhist conception of soul, or rather of the Buddhist denying of the soul at all as a substance, and therefrom the resulting materialistic conception of the world, life, thought, etc.

tion of the "Uebermensch" of the great German philosopher Nietzsche[12] whom—I do not deny it—I consider in many respects as my spiritual leader. And this is the very point where I see the greatest sublimity of the Jaina religion, and am strongly opposed to those, who may call Jainism an atheism and thereby deny its being a religion at all. My opinion is that the Jaina religion went only up to the highest aim, to do everything for the intellectual claims but to remain still a religion with its typical features, of which the idea of god is the indispensable one. Therefore the Jaina religion can be called with full authority the limit form not only of the Aryan religions but of all religions altogether.

And in this character of a limit religion lies the great importance of the Jaina religion for the comparative science of religions. For, it is the required upper limit, according to which we are able to judge of the other human phenomena, whether they are still religions or not. But this is not the only importance of Jainism for the study of comparative science of religions. Equally important for the scientific study of religions are the Jaina metaphysics as well as the Jaina ethics, not to speak about its logic.

I have no space to go in details on this subject, but I must mention only a few characteristic manifestations of this superiority of Jainism. I mention only the theory of the infinite numbers as it is dealt with in the *Lokaprakāśa*, and which corresponds with the most modern mathematical theories. And the theory of identity of time and space is one of the problems, which are now most discussed by the scientists owing to Einstein's theory, and which are already solved or prepared for solution in Jaina metaphysics.

[12] Friedrich Nietzsche (b. 1844, died, 1900 in Weimar) was a great German philosopher of the XIXth century, whose significance is still not fully appreciated, due to many divergences in his ideas, which can be seen, e.g., in his conception of God. God is according to Neitzsche embodiment of longings and desires of the little men, symbol of the vanity of the present mankind ; he must 'die', as Nietzsche says, in order that the 'Uebermensch' (i.e., the 'superbeing') may become his own god, i.e., his own aim. And what will happen, when the Uebermensch arrives ? Is then the development finished ? To this question Nietzsche replies, by the idea of the eternal circulation of things. The development happens in a circle ; everything which has been already here, will return again and again, and even the last man, with all his imperfectness will return ; and therefore it is inevitable for man to live in such a way, that he may wish a repetition of his life ; this is possible in the right sense after the Uebermensch and realising the idea of the Uebermensch. Both the ideas in this conception are so divergent that it can be hardly accepted as the proper solution of the problem, if we do not suppose different points of view.

From the Jaina ethics I will mention only two great problems, which are solved in Jainism with the utmost perfection. The first of them is the problem of a happy co-existence of all beings in the world, a problem on which many ethical problems had wrecked or at least got a heavy leakage. Its solution in Jainism is a very simple one, but the only perfect one, viz., in the commandment of *ahimsā* or non-injury, which is not only in theory but moreover in practice stricter and more resolute, than, e.g., the similar commandment in the Christian religion. And the other problem which is dealt with an equal simplicity and perfection is the problem of sexual chastity. This is not only an ethical but moreover a biological and social problem of very wide bearing. I mention only the efforts of the great worker in the field of national economy, Malthus[13], to solve this problem after he had discovered the dangers of overcrowding the world by increasing population, whilst he proved by statistics that the human race is increasing in geometrical progression, the resources, however, only in an arithmetical progression. I do not say that he was right in every respect, but I rather point to the fact, that the problem really exists in Europe too, and that its solution has been already attempted not only by religious reformers, but moreover by the scientists too. The Jaina solution of the problem is quite plain, removing the very root of the evil. It is that, what you call *brahmacarya*. I cannot go in details on this subject, but I advise every one, who has any interest on this subject to read or moreover to study the respective part of *Adhyātma-Tattvāloka* by Muni Nyayavijaya, pp. 372-396. I must emphasize only that the problem is in Jainism solved from quite a different point of view, than, e.g., in the Christian religion, where we may search for the biological substratum in vain.

I think there is no need to go into further details, the subject being now quite clear. But still the conclusion must be drawn from this exposition of facts.

I have already said, that the Jaina religion is the limit of religion in general, and at the same time the limit of Aryan religion in particular. It follows from the fact that the Jaina religion is well balanced in respect of the particular religious elements, that it is built up anthropocentrically, and that the intellectual element is not pushed aside in it, but rather developed as far as possible without injuring the essential of a religion. This is specially a great advantage over the Christian religion, which

[13] Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834) the great political economist of England, who promulgated the above mentioned ideas in his most important book, viz., *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798).

being founded on the Bible—while does not occupy itself with many intellectual problems being rather intended to work on human sentiments—accepted later on the Aristotelic philosophy, to which it adheres upto now—specially in the Roman-Catholic form although this philosophy cannot be kept along with the modern progress of science and other intellectual disciplines. Of course from the sentimental aspect I dare say the Christian religion made a further progress than any other religion at all, but I think this sentimental aspect is the least desirable in a modern religion, which must go parallel along with the fast development of sciences.

To make a final conclusion I venture to say, that the Jaina religion is for the comparative science of religions one of the most important developed religions because of its advanced view of religious matters as well as of the methods—I mention only the method of a very modern type, how to consider matters, viz., *Syādvāda.*[14] Further the Jaina religion is undoubtedly the upper limit of the religious view in general and as such must be considered with special care, not only for the purpose of classifying the religions, but specially for the purpose of fixing the religious categories, and in this way for the theory of religion in general.

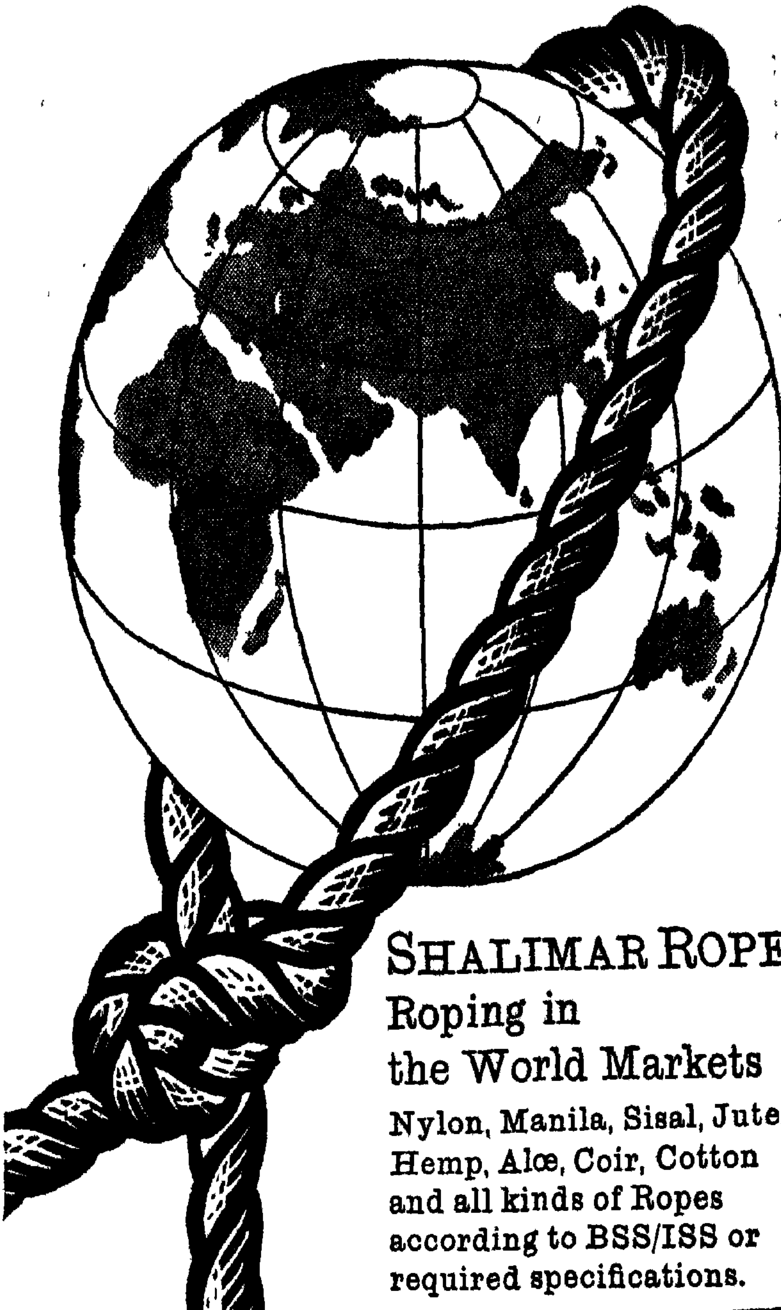
abstract of his longer essay on the same subject published in Czech language.

[14] *Syadvada* is often translated into English by 'probabilism' which I think to be wrong as far as probabilism is considered to be able to prove everything that is wanted. *Syadvada*, moreover, is the consideration of any subject from different points of view in order to get the right knowledge of the matter, and not to prove any wrong supposition.

Better is he who restraineth self,
though giveth no alms, than he who
giveth thousands and thousands of cows
every month but restraineth not his self.

—LORD MAHAVIRA

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